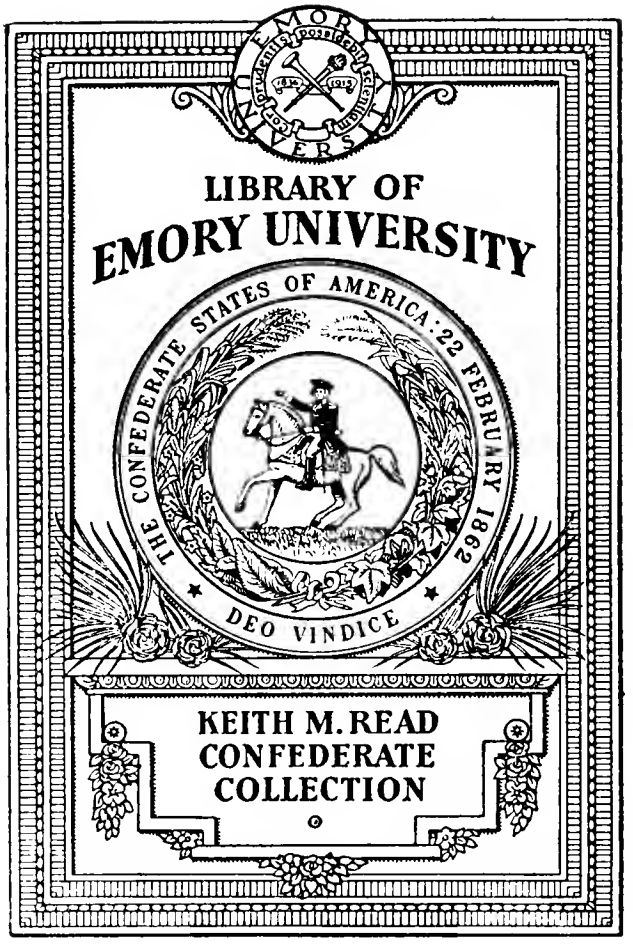
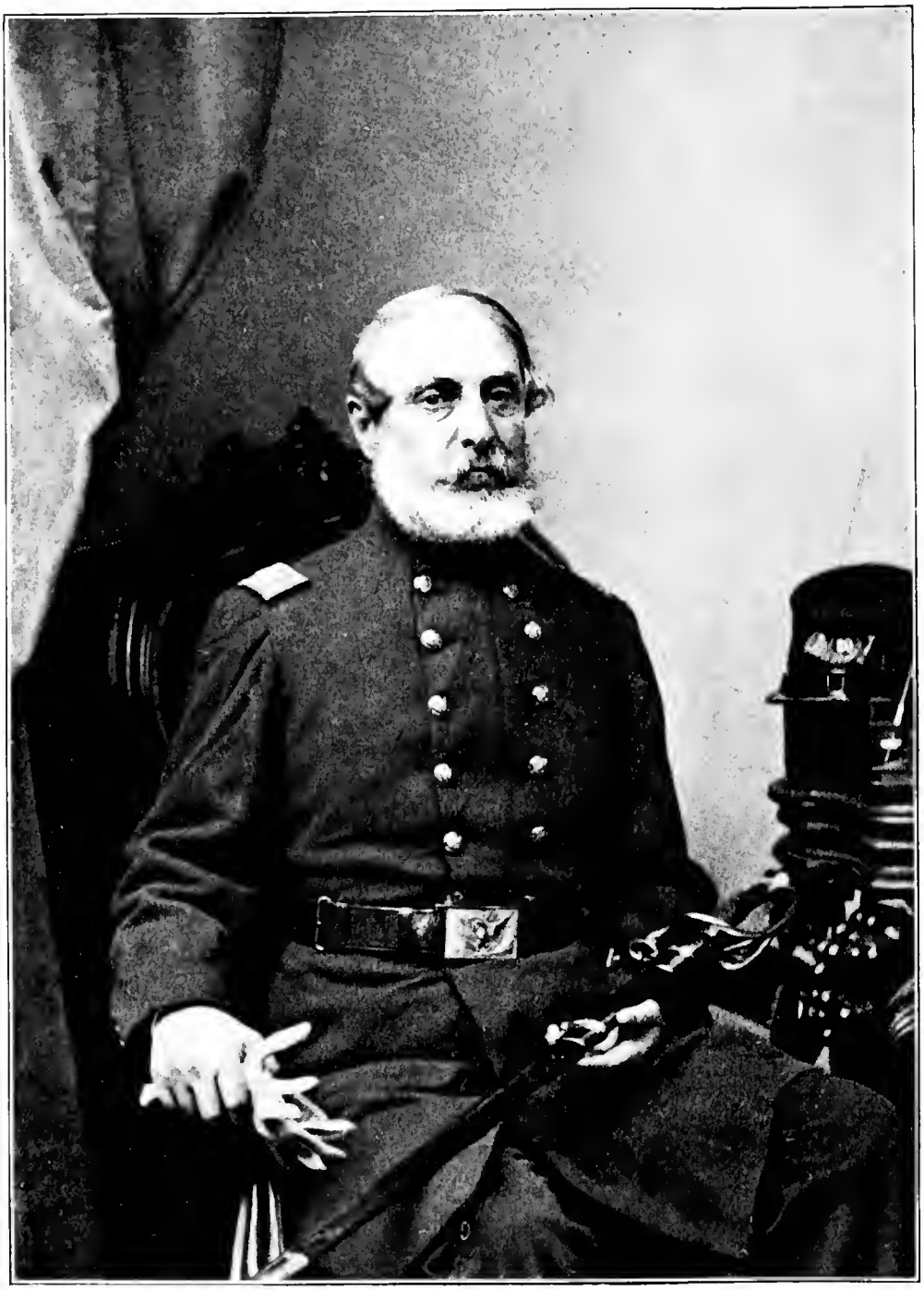
TWENTIETH REGIMENT


EMORY UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY OF
EMORY UNIVERSITY
THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA: 22 FEBRUARY 1862
DEO VINDICE
KEITH M. READ
CONFEDERATE
COLLECTION



COLONEL WILLIAM RAYMOND LEE

THE TWENTIETH REGIMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY 1861-1865

BY

BREVET LT.-COLONEL GEORGE A. BRUCE

AT THE REQUEST OF THE
OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION
OF THE REGIMENT

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1906

COPYRIGHT 1906 BY GEORGE A. BRUCE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published May 1906

PREFACE

THE history of the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment is presented at this late day to its surviving members and such others as may be interested in its story.

Some time after the close of the war Mr. John C. Ropes, widely known as a lawyer, and the world over as one of the most critical and gifted of writers upon military subjects, was chosen as our historian, and the position was accepted by him. The pressure of business and the completion of other literary works in which he was interested so consumed his time that he was not able to perform a task which would have been for him a work of love.

Mr. Ropes was an intimate friend of many officers of the regiment, and he followed its career with an interest that never ceased. His brother, Lieutenant Henry Ropes, one of its most promising young officers, was killed at Gettysburg. Subsequently Captain Edward B. Robins, who joined the regiment in the fall of 1864, was chosen his successor.

The circumstances under which the present volume has been prepared are set forth in the following letter from Colonel George A. Bruce, who served in Virginia until the close of the war.

BOSTON, January 30, 1906.

To the Officers' Association of the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment,

Dear Sirs, — I send you to-day the last sheets of the history ready for publication. You know how un-

willing I was to take up a task that naturally belonged to others and not to me. I was not only a stranger to the regiment, but, though serving in the same army, never even saw it. Every military organization, great or small, during a long war like that in which we were engaged, develops an individuality of its own that is in marked contrast with that of all others. To write the annals of the regiment, to give to its history a true coloring, and set it forth in vivid language, it is necessary that he who does it should have been one of its members. Only he who has been with a body of men in camp; who has witnessed the every-day way of doing the ordinary routine duties; has listened to their talk, their jokes, their songs, their prayers; has marched by their side and with them into battle; seen them in the hour of victory; followed them after bloody repulses, and witnessed with what quickness and intelligence they would again rally on the colors; seen them on the skirmish line, where they display their individuality and at the same time reflect the spirit of their corps, — can ever get quite within the atmosphere which they have created about them and come to know them as they really were.

The first two chapters are practically as they were received by me, but somewhat abbreviated. The account of the Battle of Ball's Bluff is relatively too long, but it is the only correct and complete history of it that I have ever seen. As a piece of military writing it is worthy of being preserved. Massachusetts lost more of her sons there than in many of the more important engagements, and it produced a shock in this community at the time scarcely second to any battle of the war. It caused the death of the brilliant United States Senator Edward D. Baker of Oregon, then colonel in command; it involved the reputation of the com-

mander-in-chief of the army, and resulted in the imprisonment for a long time of General Charles P. Stone, about which there is still more or less of a historic mystery. For these reasons it seemed best to leave the account as it stands.

The picture of a skirmish line halfway up the bluff, holding back for hours the victorious Confederates who had gained the crest, while heroic men were endeavoring to carry over in frail boats and skiffs the wounded to Harrison's Island, the coming on of night, the dark river pebbled into foam by a shower of bullets, through which hundreds of men were struggling for their lives to reach the further shore, presents one of the most tragic and thrilling events of the war.

The Twentieth was one of the most notable regiments in the service. It stands fifth on the roll of those that suffered the heaviest losses during the war. It is not unworthy of mention that it was officered largely by young men fresh from Harvard University. For this reason it was popularly known as the Harvard regiment. It was they who gave to it in a great measure its character, though associated with them were some others possessed of the true military spirit. That they constituted a body of men of exceptional ability and character is evident from the high rank attained in the service by so many, as appears from the following list: —

Brevet Major-General William F. Bartlett
Brevet Major-General George N. Macy
Brevet Brigadier-General William Raymond Lee
Brevet Brigadier-General Francis W. Palfrey
Brevet Brigadier-General Paul J. Revere
Brevet Brigadier-General Charles Lawrence Peirson
Brevet Brigadier-General Charles A. Whittier
Brevet Brigadier-General Caspar Crowninshield

Brevet Brigadier-General Edward N. Hallowell
Brevet Brigadier-General Arthur R. Curtis
Brevet Brigadier-General Henry L. Patten

Others would have been added to the list but for their early death in the service.

Soon after the return of the regiment, a fund was raised among its friends, with which was purchased and erected to its memory the Lion from the studio of St. Gaudens on the stairway of the Boston Public Library. An alcove in the same building was also fitted up with appropriate memorial tablets, and the sum of five thousand dollars was put in the hands of the Trustees for the purchase of military books to be placed therein.

The monument at Gettysburg was erected by the Regimental Association, which includes both officers and enlisted men. The bronze tablet placed upon it was given by Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer of Boston, a daughter of Colonel Paul J. Revere, the third colonel of the regiment, who was killed there.

More than forty years have elapsed since the close of the conflict in which we were engaged, and as no letters or diaries written by any one of the officers or men were handed to me of a date later than June, 1863, I have made up the record as best I could from official reports, general and regimental histories, files of newspapers covering this eventful period, and the few facts furnished me by surviving members.

GEORGE A. BRUCE.

CONTENTS

I. Early Experiences 1
II. The Upper Potomac and Ball's Bluff . 16
III. From the Potomac to the Chickahominy . 78
IV Fair Oaks 90
V The Seven Days' Battles . . 102
VI. From Harrison's Landing to the Antietam . 138
VII. Battle of Antietam 159
VIII. Antietam to Fredericksburg . . . 175
IX. Fredericksburg . . . 182
X. Winter on the Rappahannock . . . 223
XI. Chancellorsville . 236
XII. Gettysburg 261
XIII. From Gettysburg to the Rapidan . . . 299
XIV Rappahannock Station and Mine Run . . 316
XV Winter on the Rapidan . . . 324
XVI. The Wilderness 341
XVII. Spottsylvania 359
XVIII. From Spottsylvania to the James . 383
XIX. Petersburg 402
XX. Deep Bottom, Reams's Station, Boydton Road 412
XXI. The Last Winter and Appomattox . . . 428

Roster 443

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Colonel William Raymond Lee . . . *Frontispiece*
Ball's Bluff, *map* . 24
Ball's Bluff, Harrison's Island in the Foreground 30
Richmond and Vicinity, *map* . 90
Antietam, *map* . 162
Fredericksburg . . 194
Fredericksburg, Farquhar St., Scene of the Twentieth's Charge . 200
Fredericksburg, Caroline St . 210
Fredericksburg, *map* . 214
Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, *map* 238
Gettysburg, *map* 274
Gettysburg Boulder 298
Wilderness and Spottsylvania, *map* . 344
Major Henry L. Abbott . 352
The Salient, *map* 374
Route of the Twentieth from Rapidan to Petersburg 386
Richmond and Petersburg, *map* . 404
Battle of Boydton Plank Road, *map* 424
Appomattox Campaign 436

THE TWENTIETH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT

CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATION AND EARLY EXPERIENCES

On the twenty-seventh day of June in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-one, William Raymond Lee, a former classmate of Jefferson Davis at West Point and a veteran of the Florida War, then a civil engineer by profession, was appointed by Governor Andrew to command the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment, and was requested to select his field and staff officers. He immediately nominated Francis Winthrop Palfrey for lieutenant-colonel, and Paul Joseph Revere for major, and these nominations were accepted by the Governor on the following day. On the first of July he sent in the names of Charles Lawrence Peirson for adjutant, and Charles W. Folsom for quartermaster, which were also accepted.

On July 2, Colonel Lee requested that the Twentieth should be ordered into camp, and proposed Sprague Plain, near Sprague Pond at Readville Station, eight miles from Boston on the Boston and Providence Railroad, as a suitable place for a camp. This was immediately accepted and proved to be all that was desirable, and a large area in that neighborhood extending to the Neponset River was used as a camp by many troops until the close of the war.

On this date Lee, Peirson, and Folsom were respectively appointed acting colonel, acting adjutant, and acting quartermaster, as they could not be commissioned until the regiment was organized, and ordered to report for duty.

The ten companies assigned to the regiment were ordered to report to Colonel Lee at this camp on Wednesday, July 10, at 1 P. M. In place of two of these companies William Francis Bartlett and John C. Putnam were authorized to recruit men for new companies, I and H. The first selected George N. Macy for his first lieutenant, and Henry L. Abbott for his second lieutenant; the latter chose N. P. Hallowell for his first lieutenant, and H. H. Sturgis for his second, the Governor having ordered on this day that the commissioned officers of a company of volunteers should be one captain and two lieutenants only.

On July 6, F. W. Palfrey was appointed acting lieutenant-colonel and ordered to report to Colonel Lee. On July 8, Colonel Lee, Quartermaster Folsom, and Captain Dreher with thirteen men of Company C laid out the camp. It was an ideal place for a camp,— a gentle slope with sandy soil which quickly dried after a rain, covered with a thick carpet of grass, bordered on two sides by beautiful old elms, and with the "Blue Hills" of Milton but a mile away. Close by was a pond of clear, cool water which supplied us and in which the men persisted in bathing, notwithstanding strict orders issued on complaint of the owners of the ice-houses on the opposite side. The loud challenge to the grand patrol every evening by the sentries in the vicinity would give ample time for the crowd of bathers to scatter and steal back to camp. A short distance beyond the pond was the

Neponset River, while the railroad station was only a pistol-shot from camp.

Into this camp the nucleus of the Twentieth Massachusetts moved on July 10, 1861, and tents were pitched in the afternoon. General Order No. 1 gives to the camp the name of "Camp Massasoit," and orders the detail of two men from each company as company cooks, and a detail of one non-commissioned officer and four privates each from Companies C and D as the first guard, to be stationed at the store-house.

Recruiting was slow and difficult at this time, as the earlier regiments had exhausted the first enthusiasm of the community. Therefore a large proportion of the officers were obliged to be absent from camp on recruiting service. With the exception of the men enlisted in Nantucket by Lieutenant Macy, no particular locality was represented in the regiment. In this respect the Twentieth probably differed from every other Massachusetts regiment, and more nearly resembled those of the Regular Army. This had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. While it gave us a smaller proportion of clean, country young men, it also saved us from the town-meeting idea of government, and from the jealousies between towns, and gave us a body of individuals who were easily disciplined when once their own personal independence was yielded.

The camp was pitched in regulation style, with company streets, which were marked with distinguishing names, for instance, Company C's street being called "Folsom Street" in honor of the quartermaster and commissary. The regiment soon settled down to drill and hard work in guard and all the other duties of the soldier. In this first week cook-

shops were set up, company cooks got into the traces, a refrigerator was sunk, and the regiment was able to cook not only for itself but also for the Eighteenth Massachusetts, which occupied the adjacent field.

Major Revere came out on the 12th and in a very few days there was battalion drill every afternoon, generally under command of Colonel Lee, sometimes of Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey, while Major Revere hovered along the flanks. His cheerful command, "Guides, cover!" will be remembered by all the sergeants of that time. The regiment improved very much in discipline, but it was a long time before the men could appreciate that they must remain in camp, even when off duty, and must not follow their own sweet will in going up to Klemm's at Mill Village for a sociable glass of beer. Some of the stragglers to this village were not content with a moderate supply of beer, but indulged in something stronger. The resulting drunkenness finally caused a raid by the major and adjutant with a small detail who took possession of all the liquor on the premises and turned it into the street. On being asked by what authority he committed this act of violence, the major laid down a large horse-pistol on the bar and said, "This is my authority!"

On July 16 medical inspection preparatory to muster into the service of the United States was held by Surgeon Bryant and Assistant Surgeon Hayward, assisted by Norton Folsom, afterwards a medical cadet. Companies A, B, C, D, and E were inspected at 8.30 A. M., and Companies F, G, H, I, and K at 2 P. M. On the 18th new recruits, including twenty-three from Nantucket received the evening before, and all not previously inspected, were examined. Those present will never forget Surgeon

Bryant's delight at the physique of the Nantucket recruits, especially that of Sergeant Kelly when he removed his clothes.

On July 18 the regiment was mustered into the United States Service by Captain Amory. Company B, however, to a man, refused to take the oath except on condition that their present acting company officers should be commissioned. The company was therefore not mustered, but was immediately dismissed and forbidden to appear at evening parade. The next day Captain Herchenroder and First Lieutenant Le Barnes called on Colonel Lee to express their surprise and regret at the conduct of their company, while the men decided to take the oath. The company then marched to the Colonel's quarters and apologized and was then restored to its position in the line without any promise being made it. The following day it sent a petition to the Governor, signed by fifty-nine men, asking him to commission the present acting officers. These three officers were commissioned in due course by the Governor on the recommendation of Colonel Lee and at the same time as the officers selected for the other companies.

The mustering officer reported the men already enlisted as so deficient in stamina and capability that not more than one third of them were equal to the average of his experience as mustering officer for Massachusetts. The Colonel gave the strictest orders for the medical inspection of recruits and reported to the Governor that many of the men must be discharged. In response he was given full discretion to grant discharges, and many men were thus sent home before the regiment left the state.

On July 22, the day after the battle of Bull Run, when it seemed as if the regiment must be ordered

into the field immediately, half filled and half drilled as it was, the list of officers was most carefully examined and nine of them were dropped, while Companies A and E were transferred bodily the next day with their officers to the Nineteenth Massachusetts. In their places were ordered to the Twentieth Captain Joseph Hayes and Lieutenants Holmes and Whittier for Company A, Captain Tremlett for Company D, Captain Schmitt and Lieutenants Lowell and Putnam (with the men enlisted by them) for Company E, First Lieutenant Cabot for Company F, and Second Lieutenant Tilden for Company K. Captain Tremlett was transferred to Company A, while Captain Batchelder returned to Company D, but he resigned on August 2, and Caspar Crowninshield was nominated on August 12 as his successor and was commissioned accordingly.

On the afternoon of the 26th Company B and those absent at previous muster with new recruits were mustered into the service by Captain Chipman. On Sunday, the 28th, inspection occurred in the morning, and at 4.30 P. M. services were held in camp by the Reverend Dr. Dwight of Dedham. The next day notice was given that, by act of the legislature, the men would be paid by the commonwealth "from the day when they went into camp to the day when they were mustered into the service of the United States."

On July 31 the first death in the regiment occurred. Thomas Tracy, a recruit who had joined the day before and been assigned to Company K, went to bathe in the river with a party of nineteen others under the charge of a first lieutenant accompanied by the assistant surgeon. While in the water, he suddenly disappeared with a cry. In spite of immediate diving and the greatest exertions of both of the offi-

cers and men, his body was not recovered for three quarters of an hour, when life was extinct.

Guard duty had by this time been thoroughly organized, and consisted of two kinds, — the main and the picket guards. The former consisted of one lieutenant, one sergeant, three corporals, and forty-five privates; the latter of the same number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers with thirty-nine privates; — making a total of two commissioned officers, eight non-commissioned officers, and eighty-four privates. A captain was detailed each day as officer of the day.

The morning report of August 12 gave a total of four hundred and sixty-eight enlisted men. On that evening Sergeant Buguey, commanding a squad of fourteen men of Company C, left camp to bathe. Outside of camp an agent of the New York Irish Brigade met them and induced the sergeant and eleven men to desert, while three of them returned to camp. The twelve men were followed and arrested at Mansfield, where they had stopped to transfer to the train for New York, and were lodged in Suffolk County jail together with the enticing agent.

On August 19 orders were received from Washington to forward the regiment immediately, and Colonel Lee was called upon for a complete roster of his company and staff officers, so that the commissions might be issued. After careful consideration among the field and staff the rank of the company officers was settled as follows:

CAPTAINS	FIRST LIEUTENANTS	SECOND LIEUTENANTS
1 Bartlett	Babo	Abbott
2 Crowninshield	Macy	Milton
3 Putnam, J. C.	Hallowell	Messer
4 Dreher	Perry	Tilden

	CAPTAINS	FIRST LIEUTENANTS	SECOND LIEUTENANTS
5	Tremlett	Capen	Putnam, W. L.
6	Schmitt	Beckwith	Wesselhoeft
7	Herchenroder	Cabot	Sturgis
8	Sweeny	Holmes	Muller
9	Walleston	Lowell	Whittier
10	Shepard	Le Barnes	Day

These officers were accordingly commissioned in their respective companies, all commissions being dated July 10, their relative rank being decided as above. The field and staff were commissioned to date July 1. No chaplain or non-commissioned staff had then been selected. Colonel Lee reported his "ability and readiness to march on a few hours' notice with three days' rations, cooked in camp, with about 500 officers and men, somewhat drilled, and with the few wagons that were ready." The companies took their proper positions in line according to the relative rank of their captains:

LEFT FLANK				COLORS			RIGHT FLANK		
D	B	K	A	G	H	F	C	E	I
Crowninshield	Herchenroder	Shepard	Tremlett	Sweeny	Putnam	Walleston	Dreher	Schmitt	Bartlett

These positions were held until after the battle of Ball's Bluff.

On August 21 the morning report showed five hundred and thirty-eight as the aggregate strength of the regiment. On the 27th, the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Regiments having started for the front, General Bullock, in command of the

recruiting-station, was ordered to send all recruits to the Twentieth until it should be filled. He sent nearly two hundred and fifty during the following week, but that much-desired result — full ranks — was never obtained.

On August 30 Mrs. Caleb Chase and other ladies presented a beautiful silk standard to the regiment. Governor Andrew was received at the railroad station by two companies and escorted to camp, where the regiment stood ready to receive him. He presented the standard with remarks that were undoubtedly grand and appropriate, but which were lost to most of us in consequence of the high wind then blowing. The standard was a beautiful state flag, with the coat-of-arms of the commonwealth on one side, and on the other the simple motto: "Fide et constantia."

Soon afterwards our old smooth-bore muskets were exchanged for Enfield rifles which were carried for the remainder of the war. These were the regulation muskets of the English Army, bought in England by an agent sent there by Massachusetts immediately after the firing on Sumter. It was not considered quite so good a gun as the new Springfield rifled musket, but it was a good rifle and decidedly superior to any of the other guns given to our soldiers. Many, even of the Massachusetts troops, had only old smooth-bore Springfield muskets, recently altered from flint-lock to percussion, owing to the impossibility of getting a sufficient number of rifles of any kind.

On September 2 we received orders to leave for the front two days later. On Wednesday, September 4, tents were struck at 10 A. M. and all preparations were made for the start. A detachment of eighty men went to Cambridge in the morning, took charge

of our formidable train of wagons, consisting of twenty-five baggage-wagons, two hospital-wagons, and five ambulances, with one hundred and twenty horses, including those of the field and staff, brought them to Boston and put them onto the cars. In doing this, Corporal Herbert Hawley of Company G was fatally kicked by a horse at the Providence Depot at Boston.

The regiment left Camp Massasoit at 4 P. M., boarded the train and started at 5.20 for Groton, Connecticut, where it took the steamboat Commodore for New York. With the regiment were several officers and about fifty men belonging to Massachusetts regiments in the field, going out to join them. We did not go into Boston and have a parade on the Common as so many of the regiments did on their way to the field. In fact, the Twentieth never appeared in Boston as a regiment, neither when it first left for the war, nor when it re-enlisted, nor on its return at the close of the war. The regiment returned to Readville in 1865 as quietly as it left there in 1861. No regiments were invited by Governor Andrew to parade in Boston at the close of the war except our two colored regiments of infantry and one of heavy artillery.

The roster of the regiment was:

Colonel:	William Raymond Lee,	Roxbury.
Lieutenant-Colonel:	Francis Winthrop Palfrey,	Boston.
Major:	Paul Joseph Revere,	Boston.
Adjutant:	Charles Lawrence Peirson,	Salem.
Quartermaster:	Charles W. Folsom,	Cambridge.
Surgeon:	Henry Bryant,	Boston.
Assistant Surgeon:	Nathan Hayward,	Roxbury.
Sergeant-Major:	Sylvanus R. Harlow,	Waltham.
Quartermaster-Sergeant:	Henry Frederick Sander,	Boston.
Commissary-Sergeant:	Edward Hennessey,	Boston.
Hospital Steward:	John Honnard,	Boston.

COMPANY A.		
Captain:	Henry M. Tremlett,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	Charles A. Whittier,	Boston.
COMPANY B.		
Captain:	John Herchenroder,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	John W Le Barnes,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	August Muller,	Boston.
COMPANY C.		
Captain:	Ferdinand Dreher,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Alois Babo,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	Reinhold Wesselhoeft,	Boston.
COMPANY D.		
Captain:	Caspar Crowninshield,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	George E. Perry,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	Nathaniel Thayer Messer,	Boston.
COMPANY E.		
Captain:	George Adam Schmitt,	Cambridge.
First Lieutenant:	James Jackson Lowell,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	William Lowell Putnam,	Boston.
COMPANY F.		
Captain:	Edward A. Walleston,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Charles Follen Cabot,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	Charles O. Day,	Boston.
COMPANY G.		
Captain:	Henry J. Sweeny,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Henry Capen,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	William F. Milton,	Boston.
COMPANY H.		
Captain:	John C. Putnam,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Norwood Penrose Hallowell,	Cambridge.
Second Lieutenant:	Henry Howard Sturgis,	Boston.
COMPANY I.		
Captain:	William Francis Bartlett,	Winthrop.
First Lieutenant:	George Nelson Macy,	Nantucket.
Second Lieutenant:	Henry Livermore Abbott,	Lowell.
COMPANY K.		
Captain:	Allen Shepard,	Boston.
First Lieutenant:	Allen W. Beckwith,	Boston.
Second Lieutenant:	Charles Linzee Tilden, Jr.,	Boston.

The regiment left Readville with the above mentioned officers and about seven hundred and fifty men on September 4, 1861.

The Sons of Massachusetts residing in New York met us at the landing and gave us a grand reception and a fine dinner at the Park Barracks. Frank E. Howe, New York agent for Massachusetts, presided, with Governor Andrew on his right and Colonel Lee on his left. Speeches were made by David Dudley Field, Governor Andrew, Charles A. Dana, Colonel Lee, Charles H. Emerson, and W. E. Hampton.

The regiment then marched up Broadway to the ferry and reached Philadelphia at 6.30 A. M. on September 6. The generous hospitality of that city was extended to us in the form of an excellent breakfast at the old "Cooper Shop," which so liberally entertained all Northern soldiers passing through in either direction at any time during the war, and for which we ever afterwards had a tender place in our hearts. One enthusiastic recruit joined us here, and was assigned to Company K. Starting again at 9.30 A. M. we arrived in Baltimore at 10 P. M. with our state flag unfurled and rifles loaded, — but not a hiss or reproach was audible. We rode from here to Washington in cattle-cars with benches placed across, and spent until 2.30 A. M. of the 7th in this palatial and rapid transportation! The regiment was hurried to the front with ranks but three quarters full,—it being impossible to wait to recruit the remainder! Yet it took fifty-seven hours to carry us from Readville to Washington, — a trip which now occupies twelve hours of a regular express.

We spent the morning of the 7th at the big barracks near the station called the "Soldiers' Retreat," not

far from the Capitol, and here we breakfasted and dined. At 3 P. M. we marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, passing in review before Lieutenant-General Scott, who appeared on a balcony in full uniform, out to Camp Kalorama on Georgetown Heights, about two miles from the city. It was very hot and very dusty, and this our first march was trying, so that we were glad to halt and pitch our tents about 8 P. M. We had for neighbors the Nineteenth Indiana and a Pennsylvania regiment, but in every direction were troops, — hubbub and confusion; — the whole country looked like one great camp. But we received no cheers nor even attention, except from Massachusetts troops, which seemed strange and cold after our receptions at every city and town en route. Colonel Lee was immediately given command of the Fourth Provisional Brigade of General Burnside's Provisional Division. This brigade comprised the Twentieth — to which Captain Saunders's Company, First Massachusetts Sharpshooters, was temporarily attached — and a Pennsylvania regiment commanded by Colonel Lesure.

By the 9th we had just begun to get things straightened out, when we received orders to move and to report to Brigadier-General F. W. Lander. By the time we had nearly finished upsetting our comfortably arranged tents and prepared to move, the orders were countermanded and we remained in a state of suspense and discomfort overnight and until 4 P. M. of the next day. On the afternoon of the 10th, however, we actually did move three miles and pitched tents on Meridian Hill, in full view of the city and about one mile from the Capitol, at Camp Burnside. We had no sooner begun to set out a regular camp on the 11th than we were again ordered to move to

Brightwood in Virginia on the next day. Accordingly on the 12th we loaded up, slung knapsacks, broke camp at 2 P. M., and started to cross the Potomac; but the head of our column had only reached the foot of the hill below camp when the orders were countermanded by an aide-de-camp of General Lander's, and we were started for Poolesville, where General Lander had that day assumed command of our brigade in General Stone's Corps of Observation. We marched nearly north for seven miles over an uneven but not dusty road, and at 6.30 P. M. bivouacked under the starlit skies near Leesborough, Maryland. It was a hot day and this first march seemed very long and fatiguing to the men unaccustomed to knapsacks and marching. The cool night and heavy dew, however, refreshed us all very much, and we caught no colds from our first night without cover. Shortly after midnight the entire regiment, tired as the men were, was awakened and turned out under arms by a most unearthly noise. It was their first experience of a serenade by an army mule. This was started by a single mule and taken up by all his companions in the camp of our wagon-train on the other side of a neighboring hill.

The next morning we fell in for the march at 9.30, and, with frequent halts to rest the men, we made thirteen miles, stopping two miles out of Rockville for dinner, and bivouacking at Muddy Branch on a hillside so steep that lying on the ground brought us almost to a perpendicular position. We started again at 10.15 A. M., sending ahead an advanced guard of picked men from Company I under Captain Bartlett with ten rounds of cartridges, rifles loaded and capped. A rear guard from Company D under Captain Crowninshield, similarly prepared, was also

thrown out. The rest of the regiment had guns loaded but not capped. These precautions were taken in consequence of General Lander's orders, caused by reports that the rebel cavalry had crossed the river in great numbers intending to cut off our large baggage-train and ammunition.

We made fifteen miles this day and reached Poolesville, Maryland, our objective point, thirty-five miles from Washington, about 7 P. M. September 14, and there reported to General Stone. We were followed by the Nineteenth Massachusetts, and Vaughn's Rhode Island Battery with six guns, both of our brigade, and by 8 P. M. all of us were settled in bivouac where we were hospitably welcomed by the Fifteenth Massachusetts which had arrived a few days before.

CHAPTER II

THE UPPER POTOMAC AND BALL'S BLUFF

THIS camp, which was situated in a most beautiful place on a high hill, was called Camp Foster. We had the pleasure on our last day's march of passing the camp of our good friends, the Second Massachusetts Infantry, which was in General Banks's division. General Stone expressed great satisfaction at the appearance of the regiment, and was especially gratified that the men had carried their knapsacks. We were on very high ground, having ascended imperceptibly, and the air was so invigorating that the men were in better condition, notwithstanding that that day's march had been our longest since leaving Washington. We were on a high level tableland of some fifty miles square entirely free of trees, from which we could look across the valleys to the Blue Ridge. It was lovely and inspiring, even to the tired men. As there was not sufficient water in this vicinity, we were obliged to move at 3 P. M. the next day, Sunday, September 15, about two miles and a half to a pleasant location on slightly lower ground, on the Williams farm, about two miles from Edwards Ferry, the most advanced position of this division. This was called Camp Benton after a gallant friend of General Lander who had fought in West Virginia. Here we laid out a regular and permanent camp in a large wheat-field on the slope of a hill, surrounded by a beautiful running stream of clear, cold water, —

a healthy and lovely situation, — and here we remained for nearly six months.

Edwards Ferry was simply a ford between the Maryland and Virginia shores of the Potomac; but after our arrival, a storehouse, some stores, and other buildings were erected and the landing of men and all sorts of supplies by the canal gave unusual life to the scene. The Seventh Michigan, Colonel Grosvenor commanding, a splendid body of men, arrived on the 17th and joined General Lander's brigade, which had previously consisted of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, Battery B, First Rhode Island Artillery, Captain Vaughn — and ourselves. The Andrew — First Massachusetts — Sharpshooters were also with us. Colonel Lee wrote to Governor Andrew of his great satisfaction that General Lander had especially asked for the assignment of the Twentieth to his brigade and had assured him that we should "not be deprived of our due share of active service." This promise was most religiously kept by him and every one of his successors! The regiment was in good health, the sick not being over two and a half per cent, which was less than the average. Our surgeon, Dr. Bryant, was now made brigade surgeon; the assistant surgeon, Dr. Hayward, was promoted to surgeon; and Dr. E. H. R. Revere, brother of the major, was made assistant surgeon to date September 19; while our quartermaster was made acting quartermaster of the brigade on the 21st. Lieutenant Macy, mounted, with three men and the hospital-wagon, was soon sent to Washington for supplies, which he brought back on the 19th with eight loaded United States Army wagons and some additional horses. Assistant Surgeon Revere joined on the 18th, and Surgeon Hayward permanently took his new rank.

From this time began our regular work, company drill every morning, battalion drill and dress-parade every afternoon, with occasional reviews and brigade drills, and regular Sunday morning inspection. Every other night two companies were detailed for outpost duty at the Potomac River in the neighborhood of Edwards Ferry, with other troops of the brigade and two guns from Vaughn's Battery. The reserve was placed in a thick piece of woods some two hundred yards back from the river, where they soon built a group of very pretty rustic houses, with pickets on the tow-path between the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and the river. This duty was made as pleasant as possible under the circumstances, and it was relieved from monotony by an occasional conversation with the rebel pickets a quarter of a mile away across the river, as well as by an occasional shot and by constant alarming rumors of raids by large forces of the enemy, which sometimes aroused the entire brigade. Very few men were killed or wounded, but it served to teach us that there was no certain time for rest in the front line, and it was an excellent training for the officers and men. Skirmishing drill was now begun and a school was opened for non-commissioned officers in tactics, bayonet exercise, and discipline, under charge of the first sergeant of Company F, James Murphy (afterwards a captain), an old Regular Army soldier. Very strict discipline was enforced throughout the entire regiment, — it was demanded by Colonel Lee of all the officers, and by them of all the men. It was much needed in the early days of the war, and it brought out an *esprit de corps* which was of untold value later when the higher officers had to be replaced by the subalterns, and they by promotion from the ranks, and the well-earned reputation of the regiment was transferred to their hands.

While on outpost duty at Camp Lee the officers got most excellent meals at a neighboring farmhouse occupied by Mrs. Chiswell, undoubtedly a Southerner and a Southern sympathizer, but who took good care of us in return for our protection to her property and her porkers. But we suspected her son of signalling to the enemy, and accordingly arrested him on the twenty-second. Our guard duty was soon increased to a detail of four companies who had to march two miles to Edwards Ferry, cross the canal there, and march four miles up the tow-path to support the picket guard. This was in addition to the two companies on outpost duty at Camp Lee, and made a detail of six companies at a time for duty outside of camp besides the duties inside. We therefore averaged five nights each week under arms.

General Stone was a most active, vigilant officer, visiting his camps at all hours of the day and night, thoroughly inspecting the troops and attending to all the details of camp life. No officer on guard would dare sleep or neglect his duty, for General Stone might appear at any moment. He was an excellent disciplinarian. General Lander was very popular in the brigade, — a fine, dashing officer with horse to match, — but very impatient at our inactivity, which was so different from his experience with his rough Californians in the Pah Ute War.

On September 25, we had our first brigade inspection by General Lander. The following day was Governor Andrew's Thanksgiving Day, and we observed it by omitting our usual drills, which was a pleasant relief. On the twenty-ninth a party of twenty-three recruits arrived, and with them our full band, consisting of a leader and twenty-three musicians. At 4 P. M. of the same day, which was Sunday, the

Colonel held services for such of the men as wished to attend. That night we had our first frost. On the thirtieth Captain Sweeny resigned, and First Lieutenant Babo took command of his company (G).

On October 2 and 3 fifty men from Baker's California regiment, wounded and wearied, were brought or marched up the river from the attack on Munson's Hill. We sent down ambulances and wagons for them, and brought them into our camp, and took care of them. On the morning of the fourth the Confederates opened fire on Edwards Ferry and fired six shot and shell from field-pieces; our battery replied with fifty-four shot and shell, but neither side did any damage, although we drove their battery from its position. We received on the same day a visit from the Sanitary Commissioners, who examined the camp very thoroughly, but finally wound up with a compliment on its appearance and management. That afternoon we had more chaffing from a rebel picket, who asked, with his thumb on his nose, "When are you going to Richmond?" To which we replied, "The day before you go to Washington." One evening General Stone, while making a reconnoissance in a boat along the canal, was challenged by one of our pickets. He gave the countersign, and was rowing away, when the sentry shouted, "God damn you! If you don't come back and give an account of yourself, I'll blow your damned head off, as I would anybody's who rows about the canal at such an untimely hour, disturbing quiet folks!" The sentry was considerably taken aback when he found out who the visitor was!

We had now begun drilling in platoon firing from twelve to two o'clock daily to improve the shooting of the men. Many of them, we found, shut their eyes when they pulled the trigger, and bang went the gun,

northeast or southwest as accident determined. The Andrew Sharpshooters were detached from the Twentieth on the third at Colonel Lee's request, because they would not submit to the discipline insisted on by him. They had been enlisted as a separate company, and thought that they were to be simply sharpshooters, and to be, therefore, exempt from discipline and restraint. The strictness of the discipline in the Twentieth, commenced by Colonel Lee and continued by all successive commanders of the regiment, is illustrated by the order of October 5, which again insists on the strict observance *by officers* as well as men of the regulation enforcing silence after taps.

On the fifth Captain Walleston went home on leave, and Lieutenants Capen and Day resigned, leaving us on the seventh. We received orders on the afternoon of the sixth to pack up, be ready to march, and to sleep with one eye open, — with a rumor at headquarters that we were going to retreat. It turned out a false alarm, as usual. On the eighth we had a grand review by General Lander, and on the tenth Lieutenant Perry was sent to Washington with our pay-rolls. On the seventh, in order to keep the men in camp and avoid the necessity of their going to Poolesville, Private Goodridge was allowed to open a tent for the sale of tobacco, etc.

We now began ambulance drills from ten to eleven o'clock each day, in which we exercised the band, twenty-four in number, and a detail of one man from each company, and used five ambulances and one two-horse spring-wagon. They were taught to compress an artery, put on a tourniquet (or make one from a handkerchief if a regular one was not to be had), to put on bandages, carry men in litters and put them

into the ambulance, each man taking his turn in the different exercises and in pretending to be wounded.

We built ovens and had the luxury of soft bread, which was a great relief after our steady diet of hard tack. So pleased were we with this change that we sent six loaves as a present to Governor Andrew, who acknowledged their receipt with thanks of appreciation, although their softness must have vanished long before they reached him. However, it was currently reported that we were the only Massachusetts regiment that was fed in this luxurious manner. Besides being a reminder of the family table and "home, sweet home," this baking enabled us to begin saving something from our rations in order to accumulate company and regimental funds. To carry this properly into effect, Lieutenant Wesselhoeft was appointed post treasurer. The company kitchens were then enclosed with fences, the cooks were reduced to two to a company, a sergeant was detailed from each company to inspect the rations, kitchens, and cooks, and only these three men and the company officers were allowed in the kitchens. Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey, Major Revere, and Captain Bartlett were appointed to act as council of administration for the regiment. On Sunday, the thirteenth, Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey read the service in camp.

We found, in comparison with the troops from other states, that we were much better provided with everything, — in fact, we were fully equipped. Such was the dearth of horses and wagons among the other troops that ours were severely overworked in helping out the others. In this work we had one day twenty-two wagons, forty-four men, and eighty-eight horses detailed away from the regiment. But when Colonel Lee was asked by the Commanding General if he had

arms, uniforms, accoutrements, etc., he answered proudly, "My regiment, sir, came from Massachusetts!" And our colonel did his share in keeping us ready for any call, so that, when he was asked in what condition and when he could march, he replied, "At sight order — 650 rifles, with 60 rounds of ammunition and five days' rations." This he put in writing, and, when ordered, we did march in thirty minutes after the orderly handed the orders to him.

On the 11th, Captain Herchenroder sent in his resignation, which was accepted November 7, and Lieutenants Messer and Sturgis were temporarily assigned to Companies G and F, while Lieutenants Milton and Le Barnes were ordered back from recruiting service. On the 12th Governor Andrew commissioned our senior first lieutenant, Babo, captain of Company G in place of Captain Sweeny resigned; Second Lieutenant Milton, first lieutenant of Company C in place of Lieutenant Babo (Second Lieutenant Abbott refusing promotion because it would carry him out of Company I); and William F. Perkins, a clerk in our quartermaster's department, second lieutenant in Company G in place of Lieutenant Milton. As the official notice from the War Department of the acceptance of Captain Sweeny's resignation was mislaid at the State House for two months, the above commissions were held until after poor Babo was killed at Ball's Bluff, so that he never received his. Mr. Perkins declined his because he had just accepted an appointment in the Quartermaster's Department in Washington; but he surrendered that position in the following January on being again commissioned.

Another batch of nine recruits joined the regiment on the 13th, and Lieutenants Le Barnes and

Milton brought five more with them a few days later, making, with the one enlisted in Philadelphia, sixty-three recruits since we left Massachusetts.

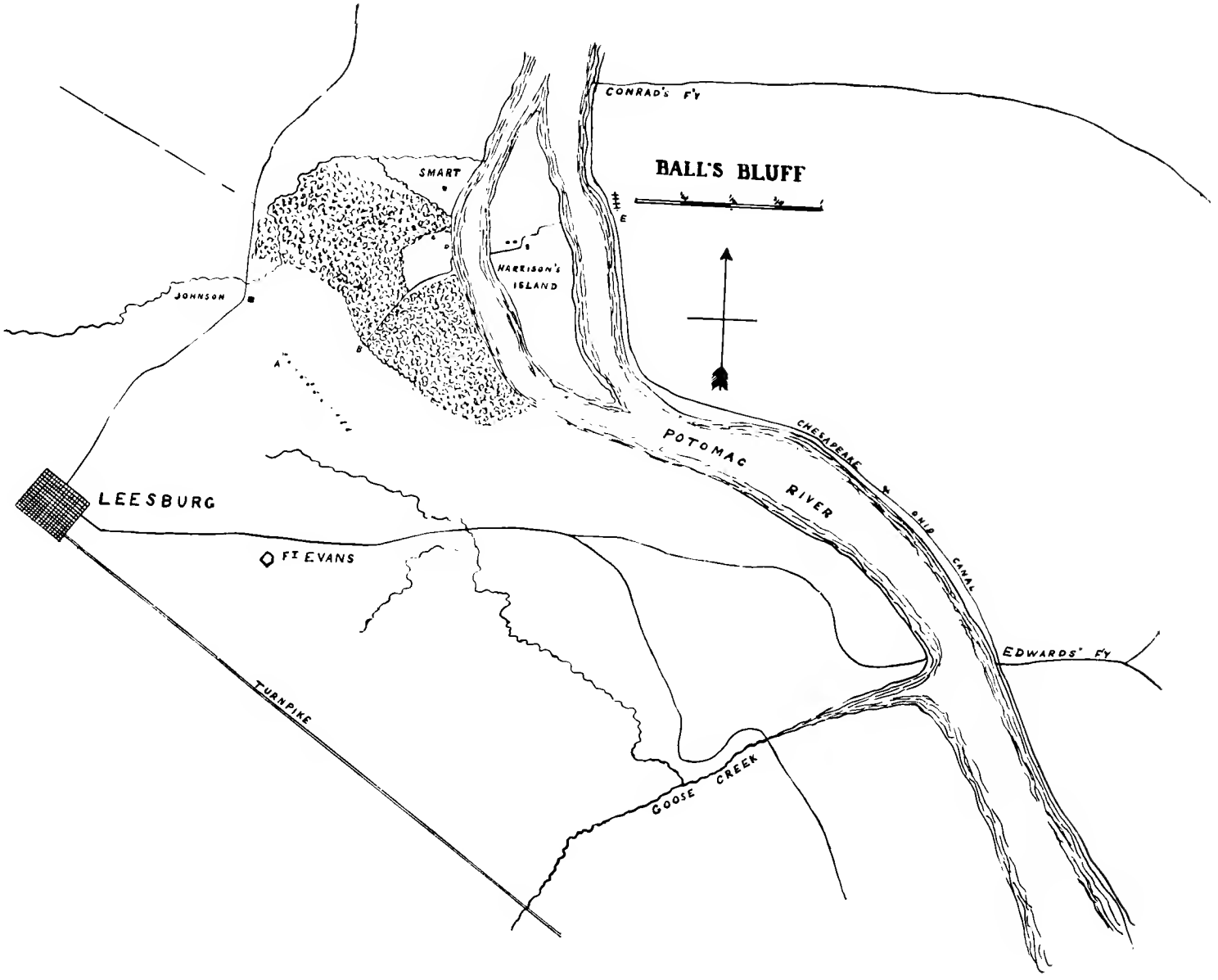
BALL'S BLUFF

The monotonous routine of the Corps of Observation, with its daily drills and its weekly details for picket on the tow-path of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, was interrupted just after dinner on Sunday, October 20, by the call to arms which resulted in the affair known as the Battle of Ball's Bluff. This affair — begun as a simple reconnoissance — can only be dignified with the name of a battle because of the terrible losses suffered by the participating regiments.

On Saturday, October 19, General Stone, on examining a deserter, — a colored teamster of the Thirteenth Mississippi, — was told that the rebels in Leesburg were in alarm because they expected General Stone to attack them, and had sent back their heavy baggage, evidently expecting to be driven back to Carter's Mills and Manassas. This seems to have suggested to General Stone that now was a good opportunity for an attack in the direction of Leesburg.

The force for the defence of Leesburg and vicinity was what was known as the Seventh Brigade, commanded by General N. G. Evans, of Beauregard's First Corps of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of the Eighth Virginia, Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Mississippi regiments of infantry, three companies of cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Jenifer, and six guns.

Against this force General Stone had on the Maryland shore his division composed of Gorman's, Lander's, and Baker's brigades, which contained in all


CONRAD'S F'Y
BALL'S BLUFF
SMART
HARRISON'S ISLAND
JOHNSON
POTOMAC RIVER
CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL
LEESBURG
FT EVANS
EDWARDS' F'Y
TURNPIKE
GOOSE CREEK

eleven regiments of infantry, one company of sharpshooters, six companies of cavalry, and three batteries of eighteen guns. It had about eighty-four hundred present for duty; but of this force he only attempted to cross at Ball's Bluff ten companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts of Gorman's brigade; seven companies of the Twentieth Massachusetts, five companies of the Forty-second New York of Lander's brigade; eight companies of the First California of Baker's brigade; two mountain howitzers and one rifled gun. As three of these companies did not arrive until the battle was lost, we can count as our greatest force twenty-seven companies from four different regiments and three different brigades — all without experience, having been in the field only one month, never having been in battle, and unacquainted with each other or their commanders.

On October 19 all the Confederate infantry was encamped some eight miles back from the Potomac; but on that evening General Evans says that he was alarmed by our artillery firing, although it was not heavy or unusual enough to be mentioned in our reports, and he therefore ordered up all his brigade They moved up in the early morning of the 20th, and took position on the Leesburg and Alexandria Turnpike at the crossing of Goose Creek, about three miles southeast of Leesburg. There they remained until the next day prepared to resist an advance by General Stone from Edwards Ferry. No other force was moved by them, and no thought seems to have entered their minds of an attack by us from any other point until their pickets were driven in, back of Ball's Bluff.

On our side, General McClellan had on the 19th sent out General McCall's two divisions next on

General Stone's left to make reconnoissances, principally to enable the engineers to make maps. McCall occupied Dranesville from the 19th to 8 A. M. of the 21st and sent out parties in all directions, one of which came within six miles of the bridge over Goose Creek, where General Evans had concentrated his force on the 20th, but McCall did not discover them. On the 19th, General Stone reported to General McClellan the deserter's story of alarm in Leesburg and preparations for retreat; and on Sunday, the 20th, General Banks telegraphed to General McClellan that his signal-tower reported that the rebels had moved away from Leesburg. General McClellan then notified Stone that McCall was at Dranesville, and ordered him (received 11 A. M.) to " keep a good lookout upon Leesburg, to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away." In response to this suggestion General Stone brought some additional infantry and cavalry under General Gorman to Edwards Ferry, where he made his own headquarters and displayed them, fired a few shell, and sent over three boat-loads of men, one hundred and five in all, who remained on the Virginia side until dark. At 1 P. M. of the same day, October 20, he ordered Colonel Devens of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, who then had five companies picketing the river opposite Harrison's Island, with an advanced post on the island itself, to put the whole of this force onto the island at 3 P. M. and to move two flatboats from the canal into the river. He also ordered him to send Captain Philbrick and twenty men across to Ball's Bluff to reconnoitre in the direction of Leesburg and to retire and report on the discovery of any enemy. He also ordered the Nineteenth Massachusetts to replace the five companies of the Fifteenth on picket on the tow-path, and he

ordered the Tammany regiment (Forty-second New York) to Conrad's Ferry.

At the same time General Stone also ordered a battalion of the Twentieth Massachusetts to the tow-path, opposite Harrison's Island. Colonel Lee and Adjutant Peirson left camp immediately with Companies I and D, making a total of one hundred and two officers and men, marched to Edwards Ferry, crossed the canal, and marched up the tow-path to the point indicated. They were followed by Major Revere and Companies A, C, E, G, and H of the Twentieth Massachusetts.

Stone reported to General McClellan (received that evening) that he had made his feint of crossing, and the enemy's pickets had retired to their intrenchments (evidently the Edwards Ferry operation); and that "at the same time" he had "started a reconnoitring party towards Leesburg from Harrison's Island," from which "report was not yet received;" adding, "I have means of crossing 125 men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly." As General Stone thus reported the completion of the "demonstration" suggested, and reported in addition only a reconnoissance, adding information that means for the return of the party were ample; and as he made no further report until the telegram sent at 9.45 the next morning, General McClellan was justified in considering that his order of the 20th had been completed, and that nothing more was required in that direction, unless the report of the reconnoissance should suggest some new plan. He was somewhat negligent, perhaps, in not notifying Stone of the recall of McCall from Dranesville, which he apparently did not order until after he had received this report of Stone. But on the contrary,

Stone had now completed the order of General McClellan which referred to McCall's presence at Dranesville, and had no right to do anything more without orders, especially to count on support from troops of a separate division, without a clear understanding with the commander-in-chief, or at least a notification to him of any proposed movement of his own troops if there were not time to wait for distinct orders.

The detachment of the Fifteenth crossed to Harrison's Island, while the Twentieth dozed supperless on the tow-path. Under General Stone's orders Captain Philbrick and twenty men of the Fifteenth crossed to the Virginia shore and moved cautiously inland by a narrow path through the woods to a point about three quarters of a mile from shore without meeting a picket. There they discovered what appeared to be a rebel camp, and with this important information they came back and transmitted it to General Stone, who received it at 10 P. M. Stone, as we have seen, had got into his head the idea that there were no troops at Leesburg, or at any rate that they would not make a stand. Having also the idea that McCall was still close at hand on his left as support, he thought this discovery of Captain Philbrick's gave him a good opportunity to make a strike and earn some glory. He therefore, without any consultation with, or even notification to, General McClellan, ordered the five companies of the Fifteenth to cross immediately to Virginia and capture and destroy this camp at daybreak, and then to return to the Maryland shore.

The first two companies of the Twentieth were also ordered to cross to the Virginia shore to cover the retreat of Colonel Devens's force if it should be driven back. The remainder of the Twentieth Bat-

talion (five companies) was ordered to Harrison's Island, and instructed to transport a four-oared boat from the Maryland to the Virginia side of the island. Lieutenant French, First United States Artillery, was also ordered with two mountain howitzers to the island. Colonel Devens was given discretion to stay on the Virginia side if he should obtain a position which he could undoubtedly hold against superior numbers until reënforced. Lieutenant-Colonel Ward and the remaining five companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts were ordered to be at the tow-path opposite Harrison's Island at daybreak. Colonel Baker was ordered to have the First California at Conrad's Ferry at sunrise, and the remainder of his brigade ready to move after an early breakfast.

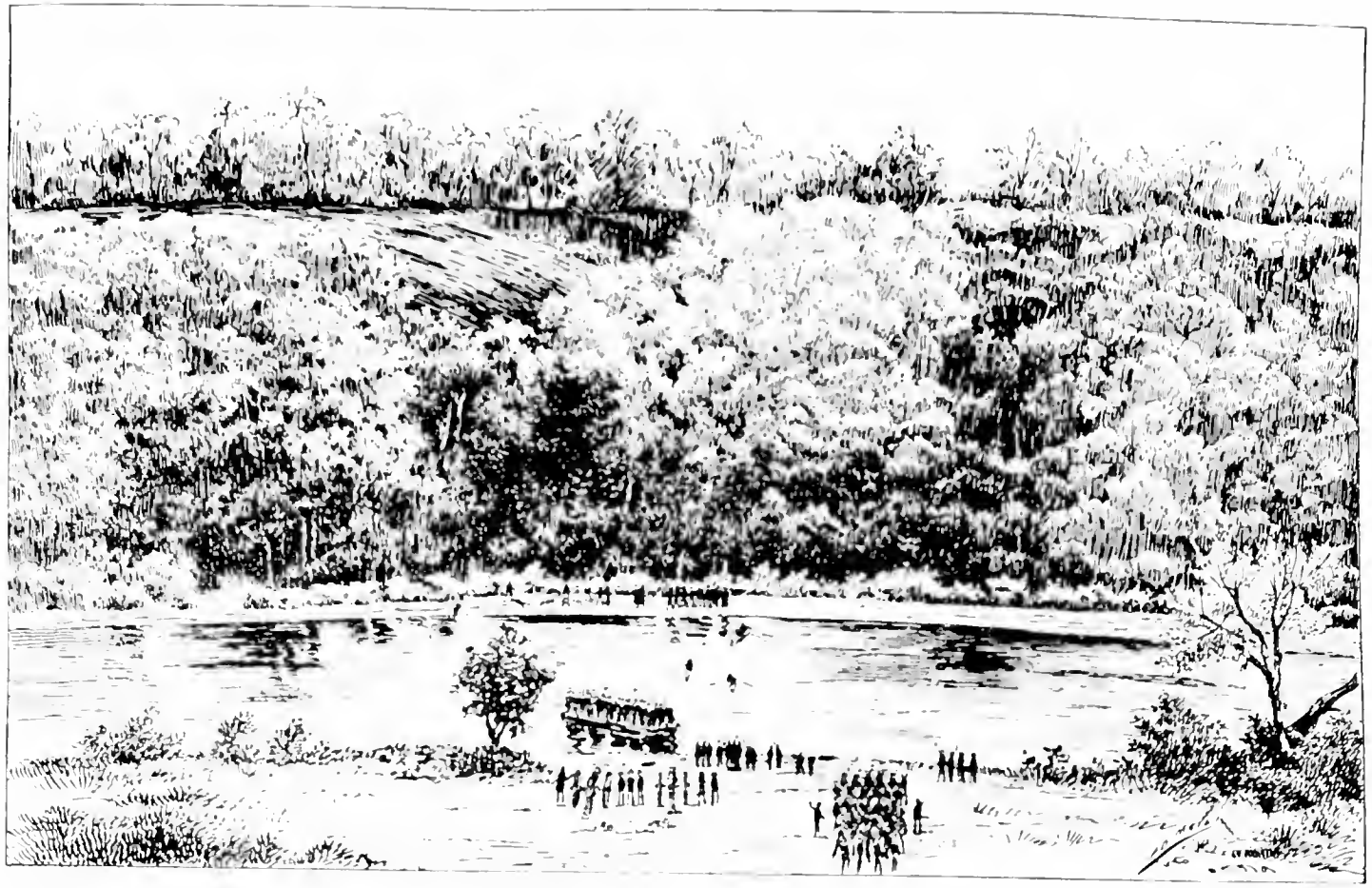
Colonel Lee, with Companies I and D of the Twentieth, crossed to the island at about 11 P. M., taking with them the two howitzers. Our other five companies immediately followed I and D as far as the island. From midnight until 4 A. M. of Monday, the 21st, was occupied in ferrying these seven companies — first the five companies of the Fifteenth and then Company I followed by Company D of the Twentieth — across the river in a small metallic lifeboat which could carry sixteen, and two little skiffs, holding four and five respectively, making total transportation twenty-five at a trip, all told. Major Revere and the other five companies of the Twentieth, with the howitzers, were left on the island till noon.

For the purpose of the original scouting party of twenty men this spot was well selected, for they had but a narrow strip of river to cross where the enemy had no pickets, and could land in woods, make their reconnoissance, retreat to their boats, and escape easily to the island, where they would be immediately

protected by the buildings, etc. For a "cutting-out" raid by four hundred and twenty-nine men, with transportation requiring seventeen trips to bring them off, it was certainly hazardous, but under the circumstances as supposed to have been discovered, allowable. Harrison's Island is a perfectly flat island over two miles long and three hundred yards wide opposite the bluff, separated from the Maryland shore by about five hundred yards of river, which the current increased to about seven hundred yards, this being the length of the course taken by the boats until the rope-ferry was rigged. There were about one hundred and fifty yards of water between the island and the Virginia shore, but, as there was no rope for the ferry here, the boats and swimmers went nearly double that distance. The point of landing was a bluff, fully one hundred feet high and too steep to climb up straight, covered with trees, rocks, and bushes. A narrow sheep-path wound around to the top. Up this little path all of the men had to go in single file, and the rifled gun when brought over later had to be dismounted and dragged up by hand.

After reaching the top of the bluff between 4 and 5 A. M. the troops waited till dawn. Company I was formed on the right and Company D on the left of the little path that there led off into the woods, while Lieutenant Macy with twenty-five men was posted in rear to guard the road from the bluff. Instructions from Colonel Lee were that the companies of the Twentieth were a reserve to the Fifteenth, and if the latter were driven back, must open for it to escape and then stand firm. The Twentieth occupied this position until nine o'clock.

At daybreak Colonel Devens and his five companies started up the little road which ran through the open



BALLS BLUFF HARRISON'S ISLAND IN THE FOREGROUND

field in front and curved to the left towards Leesburg. They followed this road nearly half a mile through the woods until they reached a pair of bars (B) in a heavy rail fence on the further edge of the woods. Beyond this was a field, about the same size as that on the bluff, with some trees in it, extending on the right to the Conrad's Ferry Road. On the opposite side of this field was a slight ridge on which was a single row of trees (A), and beyond this was open country, broken only by stacks of corn. Here the mistake of the reconnoitring party, which had believed in the moonlight that the openings between the trees were tents, in row, was first discovered.

Colonel Devens, Captain Philbrick, and two or three men, leaving the detachment at the bars, went to the other side of the ridge where they had a good view of Leesburg, but could see only four tents. They then returned, and at 6.30 A. M. Colonel Devens sent his quartermaster, Lieutenant Howe, to report to General Stone at Edwards Ferry that the camp was a myth, but that he had not been discovered and he thought that he could remain until reinforced.

About seven o'clock a scouting party, consisting of Adjutant Peirson, First Sergeant Riddle, and three men of Company I, on a voyage of discovery in the woods on the right (a similar party was investigating on our left), peered too incautiously into a gully and were greeted by two or three shots from rebel pickets, one of which went through poor Riddle's right elbow These were the first shots fired, and he was the first man wounded on either side. He was immediately sent over to the island.

This firing started up the picket reserve of the rebels, Captain Duff's company of the Seventeenth Mississippi, who soon discovered Colonel Devens's party

and was discovered by them about 7.30. Colonel Devens then ordered Captain Philbrick to attack them, and sent Captain Rockwood to cut them off from Conrad's Ferry. Quite a hot skirmish then followed at eight o'clock in the open country beyond the ridge, and the enemy retreated to the road between Leesburg and Conrad's Ferry. Captain Forehand was then ordered up to reënforce Captain Philbrick, when a force of cavalry was seen approaching from our left. This was three companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Jenifer, — the Loudoun, Chesterfield, and Madison companies. Colonel Devens then at 8.15 retired to his first position at the bars and waited there half an hour, expecting an attack. As no attack was made, he retired at 8.45 to the bluff where the Twentieth companies were.

Colonel Devens had now accomplished all that he was sent to do. If he and Colonel Lee had recrossed the river at this time, they could have done so without the loss of another man, for over two hours of quiet now elapsed before any movement whatever was made by the enemy. But Major Revere's five additional companies of the Twentieth and the two howitzers were close at hand on the Island, with the other five companies of the Fifteenth on the tow-path, as reënforcements. These officers also found that the transportation had been more than doubled by the addition of a scow, brought around the upper end of the island during the morning by Major Revere, so that fully sixty-five men instead of twenty-five could now be taken at a time, and the trips for the force now in Virginia could be reduced from seventeen to seven, and the time to an hour and a quarter. As Colonel Devens was momentarily expecting the return of Lieutenant Howe with definite orders from General

Stone, he used the discretion given him and waited in Virginia. But at nine o'clock, as Lieutenant Howe had not arrived, Colonel Devens thoroughly scouted the woods and moved forward again to his position of outpost at the bars. Colonel Jenifer, it appears, returned at that time to Fort Evans between Leesburg and Edwards Ferry, probably because General Evans expected an advance by Generals Stone and Gorman on his right flank. When Colonel Devens moved forward the second time, the two companies of the Twentieth formed line on the right of the open field facing south.

At 7.45 A. M. General Stone at Edwards Ferry received through Lieutenant Howe the first news from Colonel Devens's party, viz.: his report of 6.30, telling him that there was no camp as previously reported; that he had reconnoitred in sight of Leesburg and could see only four tents; that he had not been discovered; and that he had a good position which he could hold until reënforcements should come up. The eight o'clock skirmish had not then come off, and no firing had been heard, so that he had no suspicion that Colonel Devens had been discovered. Under these circumstances, with the idea that General McCall was still at Dranesville, perhaps moving up to support him, and with the impression gained from the colored deserter that the rebels would fall back now apparently confirmed, General Stone decided to send over more troops. But he did not send them as a direct reënforcement to Colonel Devens, but with careful instructions to establish a secure base of operations on the Virginia side at Smart's Mill, and he sent also some cavalry to act as scouts and to keep up communication between Colonel Devens and this new base. Smart's Mill was a heavy stone mill, half

a mile above Ball's Bluff, but on low ground level with the river, and with perfectly open fields all about it. These fields were within easy range of, and completely swept by, the guns which General Stone placed for this very purpose on the much higher ground on the Federal side of the river. This position the troops could easily have held if driven back from the bluff. Here also was a ford to the island, used by the farmers in low water for the carrying over of hay and produce, and easily fordable in ordinary water. On this day General Stone says it was fordable for cavalry but not for artillery.

General Stone sent Lieutenant Howe back with orders to Colonel Devens to hold his position, notifying him that Lieutenant-Colonel Ward and the other five companies of the Fifteenth would shortly cross and take position at Smart's Mill, and that he would send ten cavalrymen for scouting and to keep up communication between him and Smart's Mill. Stone sent a corresponding order to Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, and sent over Captain Candy, General Lander's assistant adjutant-general, with ten cavalrymen. He also ordered the Forty-second New York from Conrad's Ferry to the tow-path opposite Harrison's Island.

It was not until 9.45, two hours after Stone received Devens's first report, that he reported the reconnoissance of the thirty cavalry at Edwards Ferry to General McClellan, adding simply that five companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts had crossed at Harrison's Island and had proceeded to within a mile and a half of Leesburg without meeting the enemy, and that they still held on, supported by the remainder of the Fifteenth and part of the Twentieth Massachusetts. Not a word does he say about the movements of the rest of his division, all now ordered out, or about

a base on the Virginia shore at Smart's Mill, nor does he suggest any dissatisfaction with his transportation or his position opposite Harrison's Island, nor does he breathe a suggestion of the benefit of support by McCall or anybody else. The tone of this dispatch is one of perfect satisfaction with his situation and prospects, so much so that McClellan's reply is only a congratulation, with a request for constant information.

Lieutenant Howe, with these orders from General Stone, reached Colonel Devens soon after nine o'clock, just after he had reached his advanced position for the second time. At 9.30 Colonel Devens sent him back to General Stone to report the changed condition of affairs, — his discovery by the enemy and his eight o'clock skirmish, — and then he threw out skirmishers to the ridge in front and on the right and left, and waited. Colonel Lee also sent a carefully worded message to General Stone by Lieutenant Howe that the Twentieth companies were on the Virginia shore, and if the Government designed to open a campaign at that time and on that field, they had made a lodgment, but would want reënforcements; that the means of transportation were small; and that subsistence was required.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ward's battalion crossed to the island and began to move up it, intending to cross at Smart's Mill as ordered. But on Lieutenant Howe's telling him that Colonel Devens was hard pressed and needed him (Colonel Devens sent no such message), Ward changed direction and crossed at the bluff and joined Colonel Devens as quickly as possible, the last of his force reaching him about eleven o'clock. Captain Candy and his ten cavalrymen crossed also at this place, but did not go beyond the bluff, and con-

sequently did not report to Colonel Devens or anybody else, and then crossed back again. Thus General Stone's plans, which were most excellent in this respect, miscarried in both particulars. If Smart's Mill had then been seized and taken as a base, no disaster would have happened. Even if forced from the field, the troops could easily have fallen back on this base, which could have been held without difficulty, and the men could have been easily all ferried back during the night.

Colonel Baker had carried out fully General Stone's orders of the 20th. He had brought the First California to Edwards Ferry early on the 21st, and now held the remainder of his brigade in camp under arms awaiting orders to march. He then rode to Edwards Ferry and reported to General Stone about 10.45 A. M. This meeting was certainly just before the arrival of Lieutenant Howe with Colonel Devens's second message, for Colonel Baker on his way up the river to take command at Ball's Bluff met Lieutenant Howe coming down with the message sent at 9.50 by Colonel Devens. Therefore General Stone's idea at that time of the state of affairs with Colonel Devens was what that officer had reported at 6.30, four hours and a quarter before, — that the camp was a myth, that there were no rebels in sight, and he could hold on until reënforced. In addition to that information was his own order to Lieutenant-Colonel Ward to establish a base at Smart's Mill with five companies, and to Captain Candy to take over ten cavalrymen for scouts. It is possible that he had heard the firing in the smart skirmish that Colonel Devens had had at eight o'clock, but even that, if heard, was not sufficient then to make him feel that there was to be a battle on the right. He therefore

remained at Edwards Ferry as the most important part of his line, as it would have been, if he had made it so, or if his old idea of a supporting movement by McCall had had foundation. General Evans considered it the principal point of attack and paid slight attention to Colonel Devens's force until Stone's inactivity freed his troops there for his successful attack at Ball's Bluff.

Colonel Baker, after reporting to General Stone at Edwards Ferry and after full discussion and explanation of plans, was sent by him at about eleven o'clock with a written order to assume command at Harrison's Island on his arrival, and to use his discretion about recalling the troops already over or reënforcing them. Just after Colonel Baker left General Stone with this order, he met Quartermaster Howe coming down the river, who told him of Colonel Devens's eight o'clock skirmish and the discovery of the rebel cavalry. When halfway to Harrison's Island he met Lieutenant Dodge of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, who had been sent to tell him that "Reënforcements are called for!" Quartermaster Howe, on leaving Colonel Baker, continued on down the river and made the same report to General Stone that he had just made to Baker. Stone immediately, at 11.10, made his second announcement to General McClellan about his movement: "The enemy have been engaged opposite Harrison's Island, our men behaving admirably." At the same time he sent his first notification to General Banks of his move in similar words. General McClellan instantly telegraphed General McCall to remain at Dranesville, but it was too late, for McCall had already reached his own camp. McClellan then telegraphed McCall and Banks to hold their divisions in readiness for an immediate move-

ment, but he did this without any suggestion from Stone of possible need of support. McClellan also telegraphed Stone, asking the size of the force opposing him, and how many men he would need for the capture of Leesburg, which he might order done that day, and offering him the support of Banks's division. But no dispatches are in existence between McClellan and Stone about support from the direction of Dranesville until McClellan suggested it, when he ordered him to take Leesburg. This was probably about 3.30 P. M.

Lieutenant Howe also informed General Stone that Lieutenant-Colonel Ward had joined Colonel Devens with his five companies instead of occupying Smart's Mill. To this General Stone replied that Colonel Baker had now full command and would arrange as he thought best. This information Lieutenant Howe then took to Colonel Devens, reaching him just before the 12.30 attack. This remark would indicate that General Stone had discussed the Smart's Mill position with Colonel Baker and had thoroughly explained his plan about that, as well as all other contingencies.

What now had General Stone been doing in the way of active work with his own column at Edwards Ferry? At 7 A. M. he sent over Major Mix, three officers, and thirty-one men of the Third New York Cavalry and his assistant adjutant-general to reconnoitre with two companies of the First Minnesota in support. They advanced a short distance and were speedily driven in by the Thirteenth Mississippi, but remained on the Virginia shore.

Up to 10.30 General Stone had made a show of troops on the Maryland side that had kept the entire rebel force, excepting one company of the Seventeenth Mississippi (for Lieutenant-Colonel Jenifer and the

cavalry had been called back), watching him near Goose Creek. The force there was about fifteen hundred in line,—infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—while General Evans's force was a little over three thousand. But General Stone sent over no more troops, although he had plenty with him, until he heard from Baker about 2.15 that he had decided to cross, and then he sent over only about a thousand more men. But they made no advance or even demonstration sufficient to retain the rebel troops in their front.

General Evans by ten or half-past made up his mind that the movement on his right was only a feint, and turned his attention to Colonel Devens's detachment. He sent Colonel Jenifer with three companies of cavalry and five of infantry to attack the advanced line. By outflanking the skirmish line on the left, soon after eleven o'clock, they captured a few men, but the main line held its position behind the rail fence, and with such ease that Colonel Devens made no mention of this attack in his report. As this was after Lieutenant-Colonel Ward had joined Colonel Devens, he had then ten companies to the rebel eight, the only time during the day that his force was superior.

Colonel Baker must have reached the point in the tow-path opposite Harrison's Island at 11.30 A. M., or within a few minutes later. As he did not reach the bluff until fully 2 P. M., he must have spent the intervening two hours and a half (including the time required for his crossing) in arranging the rope-ferry across the Maryland channel, and other details of transportation, and in hurrying over reënforcements. It is evident that Colonel Baker on his arrival was shocked at the criminal lack of transportation, and therefore waited to improve this important branch

on the Maryland side. But he, as commander of this hitherto headless wing, was too important a man for such work, and he should have found some competent subordinate to whom it could be entrusted. But imagine his feelings on reaching the Virginia side of the island! There the boats were so few and small — even with the addition of the scow — that they could carry but one company at a trip and make but four trips in an hour, so that it would require at least three hours to bring back the twelve companies already over there, and they were now pressed by seventeen companies of the enemy! That was well-nigh a hopeless undertaking. To reënforce them was almost as difficult, but that offered some prospect of success, although but a "forlorn hope."

It is impossible to tell now what plans had been discussed, and what instructions given at the interview between General Stone and Colonel Baker at eleven o'clock. It must be remembered that neither officer then knew of the discovery of the rebels and the eight o'clock skirmish. It is not known what promise of assistance from Edwards Ferry may have been made by General Stone, nor what expectations of aid from General McCall in the direction of Dranesville may have been mentioned by General Stone, nor how strongly he emphasized the establishment of a base at Smart's Mill, in case the movement should be continued by Colonel Baker. As Stone had never been notified by General McClellan of McCall's withdrawal, he undoubtedly expected, and had some reason to count on assistance from that direction. General Stone probably intended, as soon as McCall's advance should be discovered, to push his own force from Edwards Ferry to Leesburg, and thus draw off all pressure from Baker.

Whatever the understanding was in Colonel Baker's mind when he left General Stone, the news given him by Lieutenant Howe immediately afterwards of Colonel Devens's successful eight o'clock skirmish and the quotation of Colonel Lee's message to General Stone, exaggerated by this excited quartermaster to read that, if he wished to open the campaign in Virginia, now was the time, followed by the call for reënforcements through Lieutenant Dodge before he reaches the island, may well have turned the scale in favor of crossing in the mind of an energetic brave man like Colonel Baker. His friends claim that this was the decision of a courageous, chivalric soldier not to desert his comrades. But this is hardly a fair statement of the situation, for his comrades in Virginia were in no distress then and had uttered no cry for help, having fought only the successful skirmishes at eight and eleven o'clock, and held their position ever since with perfect ease. But yet Colonel Baker did receive calls for reënforcements. They came from the exaggerated talk of Lieutenant Howe, and from the messages of the men on the Maryland shore who had heard only the wild reports of the skulkers and the sound of the musketry, and were anxious to cross and join their comrades. It was perfectly natural and proper for Colonel Baker under these circumstances to desire, as a man, to cross over and fight; but, as a general, his duty was to post himself fully on the situation first.

At 11.50 General Stone, having heard, after Colonel Baker had left him, of Colonel Devens's eight o'clock skirmish, sent Baker a dispatch which he says was intended to be cautionary, in pursuance of the understanding between them that Baker was not to fight unless he was certain that he had a superior

force, and in consequence of this later information of the discovery of the rebels. "I am informed that the force of the enemy is about 4000, all told. If you can push them, you may do so as far as to have a strong position near Leesburg, if you can keep them before you, avoiding their batteries. If they pass Leesburg, . . . you will not follow far, but seize the first good position. . . . Their design is to draw us on. Report frequently, so that, when they are pushed, Gorman can come in on their flank." While there is no word of explicit caution in this dispatch, it will bear that interpretation; but it all depends on the conversation and the understanding reached at eleven o'clock.

General Stone in this dispatch distinctly approves of Colonel Baker's crossing to Ball's Bluff. He says nothing about four thousand men being rather too many for Colonel Baker to handle with his force, which would have been forty-three companies, a total of not over twenty-six hundred men, even if he could have carried over all of the First California, the Forty-second New York, and the Nineteenth Massachusetts also; nor does he promise that he would himself neutralize as large a part of them as possible. He says not a word about making a base at Smart's Mill, or of utilizing the ford there, which even at this high water was but little over waist-deep. He merely notifies Baker that, when his small wing can drive such of the enemy's four thousand as choose to attack him, he will fall on their flank. But General Gorman, in his position opposite Edwards Ferry, was already on the flank and rear of any force that might be fighting Baker! The more that force should retire from Baker, the more they would bring Gorman in their front! So now, while Baker held their attention, was the time for *Gorman* to do the pushing!

As a matter of fact, General Stone did nothing. After he had sent the dispatch of 11.50 to Colonel Baker, he "washed his hands" as completely of any responsibility for that wing as if it had been transferred to another department. Colonel Baker acknowledged the receipt of this dispatch at 1.30 at Conrad's Ferry (evidently the Maryland shore), while getting the rope-ferry rigged and before sending over any of the guns or the First California or the Forty-second New York regiments, which, however, he said that he should do as rapidly as possible, adding that he should "feel cautiously" and hopes that Stone's "movement below will give advantage." Baker therefore undoubtedly took the final responsibility of crossing, when he, on the spot, knew that he had only twelve companies in Virginia, with five more slowly and tediously crossing, in all eight hundred and ninety-three men, with a swift river behind them, to oppose a probable force of four thousand rebels. He was also fully aware of the shameful lack of boats; and although he had twenty-six more companies ready for support, he knew that it would take eleven hours to put them and his three guns onto the Virginia shore. He makes no reference either to Smart's Mill or to McCall, mentioning only the advantage hoped for from Stone's own movement.

No further dispatches passed between Stone and Baker, and to the latter fell the entire management of the battle, such as it was, from this time until his death. When Baker's reply was received by Stone, about 2.15, he began sending over more troops from Edwards Ferry. By the latter part of the afternoon, about six o'clock, his force on the Virginia side amounted to twenty-five hundred, including cavalry and artillery. But the cavalry did absolutely nothing.

In the mean time General Stone had received General McClellan's dispatch which he answered at 1 P. M.: "I think Evans is 4000 strong, with perhaps four or more pieces of artillery, and say three pieces masked. Prisoners state that he expects reënforcements. I believe that this command can occupy Leesburg to-day. We are a little short of boats." And to McClellan's later specific inquiry about boats and roads, Stone replied, at 2.30, that he had at Harrison's Island four flatboats (capacity forty-five men each) and four rowboats, being possibly ignorant of the fact that these were used in two ferries and that only sixty-five men could be transported at a time to Ball's Bluff, instead of over two hundred, as here intimated. Stone may have been deceived, but he should have known the facts, and he could easily have learned them long before. But Baker, even after he discovered this condition of affairs, does not seem to have notified Stone.

In reply to this 2.20 dispatch of Stone's, so deceptive about the transportation, McClellan telegraphs: ". . . Call on Banks for whatever aid you need. Shall I push up a division or two on other side of river? Take Leesburg." The other dispatches of Stone to McClellan and Banks breathe this same spirit of content and confidence, until Baker's death.

Major Revere's force must have joined Colonel Lee between 1 and 2.15 P. M. The seven companies of the Twentieth were then posted by him to cover the path to the river, with their backs to the bluff, near the edge and facing west, with Company D thrown out as skirmishers on the left flank, and Company H as skirmishers on the right flank, and the other five companies in line in the following order from left to right: A, G, C, E, I. The howitzers crossed immediately after Major Revere.

At 12.30, just before Major Revere's force crossed, nine companies of the Eighth Virginia were sent to the support of Lieutenant-Colonel Jenifer, and another and stronger attack was made on Colonel Devens's left and front, but the Fifteenth Massachusetts maintained its ground. The rebel force was then seventeen companies against Colonel Devens's ten companies. As this largely superior force was persistently attempting to outflank him on the left, Colonel Devens retired about sixty paces to a new position which he held, sending back Lieutenant Howe three separate times to find Colonel Baker and get orders. Finally, at 2 P. M. Colonel Baker appeared on the bluff and sent orders to Colonel Devens to return to the open field by the bluff.

Colonel Baker, as soon as he had arrived on the tow-path, gave orders to the first battalion of his own regiment (First California) to cross to Virginia, which they did immediately, taking from 2 to 4.30 P. M. to get onto the bluff, together with the rifled gun of the First Rhode Island Battery under command of Lieutenant Bramhall of the Sixth New York Battery. Colonel Baker, before crossing himself, ordered the Forty-second New York to follow the First California, and the eight companies of the Nineteenth Massachusetts to cross after the Forty-second. From that time, 2 P. M., till 6, reënforcements were pushed over as fast as the transportation would allow. It took these four hours to carry over the eight companies of the First California, the rifled gun, and five companies of the Forty-second New York, for the fifth company was actually going over in the scow at the very moment of the final retreat down the bluff, while the remaining five companies of the Forty-second New York had been unable even to start from

the island, owing to dearth of boats. In fact, the third and fourth companies only reached the field after the battle was lost, and in time simply to make one charge to enable the men to retreat. None of the Nineteenth Massachusetts got beyond Harrison's Island, which their last company reached only at sunset.

Colonel Baker himself crossed to the bluff at two o'clock and immediately took command. He approved the position of the Twentieth Massachusetts, called back the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and placed eight companies of them at right angles to the Twentieth in the edge of the woods facing to the left (south) across the open field, with the left of their line overlapping the right flank of the Twentieth, and deployed two companies of the Fifteenth as skirmishers in the woods on the right flank and rear of that regiment, with Company H, Twentieth Massachusetts, still farther out as skirmishers near the edge of the open field. If Colonel Baker had reached the field earlier, so that he could have consulted Colonels Lee and Devens and have examined the ground, he would probably have moved the reserves up to Colonel Devens's strong position behind the rail fence in the woods, with the open field in front, extending his line as his reënforcements came up to the wooded hill on the left, from which the rebels afterwards made their most successful attack. As ten companies of the Fifteenth had held their position against seventeen companies without calling for reënforcements, the claim that they make to this day, that it could have been held throughout the battle if properly reënforced, is certainly reasonable.

But Baker had wasted a precious two hours in getting from the Maryland to the Virginia side, and conse-

quently had scarcely half an hour to make his arrangements before the enemy opened the battle. He had not time enough to make a thorough examination of the ground, except in the open field at the top of the bluff. In fact, the Fifteenth Massachusetts was ordered back by him almost as soon as he arrived, so that he could not examine any of the ground in front, — the woods, the ravine, the hill, the second open space, the heavy rail fence, etc., but took position on the ground held by the Twentieth Massachusetts and formed the Fifteenth on them as they fell back. All thought of General Stone's order to seize Smart's Mill seems to have vanished from everybody's mind since 10 A. M., when Lieutenant-Colonel Ward abandoned that plan. It is barely possible that it had never been suggested to Colonel Baker. At all events he seems never to have mentioned it to Colonels Lee or Devens. But he was apparently full of the opportunity that we now had of whipping the enemy, and made no preparation for possible disaster. In fact, he had no time to think of a base, nor any spare troops to send to seize one. When Colonel Baker arrived on the bluff, he asked Colonel Lee if he had held that place with one hundred men since daybreak. On receiving an affirmative answer he said, "It shall receive honorable mention, sir."

Two companies of the California (Seventy-first Pennsylvania) regiment and the two howitzers and the rifled gun reached the field before the battle opened. These companies were posted on the left flank of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, at right angles with Company I, the right flank company of the Twentieth Massachusetts. The rifled gun was placed in front of the left flank company (A) of the Twentieth, and two howitzers in front of the right flank company (I).

After the line was formed Colonel Baker said to Colonel Lee, "I congratulate you, sir, on the prospect of a battle." He then said to the men of the Twentieth, "Boys, you want to fight, don't you?" to which they responded with a hearty cheer.

At 2.30 P.M. the enemy, having been reënforced by the remaining eight companies of the Eighteenth Mississippi, began an attack on the skirmishers on the right of our line, held by companies A and I of the Fifteenth and H of the Twentieth. At the commencement of this attack Captain John C. Putnam, commanding Company H, was wounded (losing his right arm at the shoulder) — the second man of the Twentieth hit — and was carried back to Harrison's Island. A heavy attack was then made upon our entire line, but more particularly on the centre and left, where the Twentieth and two companies of the California regiment were placed. One of our men in Company I, having during this attack taken good aim at a mounted officer on a white horse, undertook to pull the trigger and found to his surprise that he had already lost half the forefinger of his right hand by a rebel bullet without knowing it. He thinks that this alone saved the life of the Southerner.

At this time the enemy had twenty-five companies engaged, while their opponents had nineteen companies and two howitzers. While the rebels never came out of the woods until the final charge, the Twentieth was posted in the open (except the skirmishers) and suffered terribly. It held that exposed position during the entire battle, three hours and a half. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and two companies of the California regiment were posted in the edge of the woods and therefore had considerable protection. The first volley that was fired at the Twentieth went

rather high, for the aim of the rebels was diverted from us to the brilliant red lining of our gray Massachusetts overcoats, which had been hung in the trees near the edge of the bluff when we first landed.

By 3.30 P. M. the Confederates, finding that they could not make any impression on the line, ordered up the remaining eight companies of the Seventeenth Mississippi, who came up on the double-quick and formed between the Eighth Virginia and Eighteenth Mississippi. While they were forming, the Eighth Virginia and the detached companies under Colonel Jenifer made a furious attack on the right and centre, but were repulsed. This seems to have completely used up these troops, who fell back behind a ridge and lay down to rest and took no further part in the battle until the final charge. By this time Baker had succeeded in getting up three more companies of the California regiment, which were put in on the left of the line in the woods. The forces then stood thirty-three companies of Confederates to twenty-two companies of Federal troops.

After the repulse of the Eighth Virginia and Colonel Jenifer's eight companies on the right, the two Mississippi regiments made a succession of charges on the centre and left. Captain Markoe, with two companies of the California regiment deployed as skirmishers, most gallantly repulsed the first charge of the Eighteenth Mississippi. These charges were all driven back, and the line was constantly, though slowly, reënforced at the rate of one company about every quarter of an hour. These were sent to the woods on the left as they came up. By five o'clock the remaining three companies of the California regiment and the first company of the Tammany (Forty-second New York) and the rifled gun had arrived. The

battle was now progressing very favorably for the Federal troops. They had repulsed every attack of the enemy and held their own line intact. The rifled gun assisted materially in repulsing the last charge, but it had no canister, only shell, unsuitable for close quarters. It was placed out in the open ground, with no protection whatever, but it was gallantly served, losing all its gunners before it had been fired many times. The recoil on its last discharge carried it over the bank. At this time the Confederate general, Evans, ordered up eight companies of the Thirteenth Mississippi at double-quick.

About this time Colonel Baker, who had been conspicuously brave, was instantly killed in front of the line. The nearest California and Twentieth Massachusetts men immediately rushed forward, brought in his body, and sent it back across the river. The Twentieth always thought that he was shot by a sharpshooter in the branches of a single tree in the middle of the field. Whether he was guilty or not, they soon brought down this object of their suspicions. Colonel Baker's death caused no confusion or demoralization. Colonel Lee, as brave a man as Colonel Baker, had succeeded to the command with the agreement of Colonel Devens, and would have fought the battle out in that position, which had been held against every attack for three hours without losing a foot of ground. According to the Confederate reports, they had now sent for their last regiment, leaving only one company to hold back Gorman and one company to watch the road from Dranesville. There was not another man on whom they could call. It is said that the people in Leesburg were at that time fleeing from the town and that the rebels had made every preparation to retreat.

But at that moment Colonel Cogswell of the Forty-second New York came up and claimed the command by reason of seniority. Without entering into any discussion at that time the others yielded to his claim, and he took command. Colonel Cogswell had only come onto the field within half an hour (bringing the first company of his regiment and the rifled gun), and knew nothing of the position and its strength, nor of the success in repelling the enemy. He did not appreciate that the troops were holding their formation and position, nor did he know anything about Smart's Mill and its strength, so that General Stone and the troops at Edwards Ferry were the only refuge that offered to his mind, now that the transportation had proved insufficient to bring over the comrades anxious to help. He immediately decided to try to cut his way through to the left to join General Stone's force, supposed to have crossed at Edwards Ferry. For this purpose he called in the Fifteenth Massachusetts from their strong position in the edge of the woods on the right, and they moved into the position previously occupied by the left of their line. When this position was yielded, the enemy for the first time left the woods and advanced into the open field. Company I and part of Companies H and C of the Twentieth made a charge out into the field to secure and bring back the two howitzers, but were met by this full line of battle of the enemy, and slowly and sullenly retired, Captain Bartlett being the very last man to come back under a perfect shower of bullets. The entire line of battle was then faced to the left, and the head of the column, the California regiment and the Forty-second New York, moved out; but it was almost immediately stopped by heavy volleys at short range from the Mississippi troops on the

rebel right. The Twentieth had not left the open field at all, and Colonel Lee himself had not reached the little road leading inland from the bluff, when the charge of the enemy on the exposed right flank of the rear of the column caused a suspension of the movement to the left, and compelled the formation of a new line to repulse them.

Colonel Cogswell, then, finding that he could not break through to the left, gave the order to retreat to the river, telling the officers to save as many of their men as possible. Colonel Devens refused to accept this order, until at his request it was repeated in the presence of Major Kimball of the Fifteenth Massachusetts. This regiment and the Twentieth Massachusetts were then ordered back to the river. Two more companies of the Forty-second New York reached the bluff at this time, 5.45 P. M., and did good service in holding back the advancing Confederates. But at six o'clock the men all retired to the river. There was no disarrangement in the companies of the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts until the moving down the steep bluff effectually broke up all formation. As they reached the shore, the fifth company of the Forty-second New York, under a very heroic and capable officer, Captain O'Meara, was just arriving in the scow. It soon landed, and with some of the Twentieth under Lieutenant Hallowell, formed a line of skirmishers halfway up the bluff, and for hours by a steady fire held the enemy at bay. Lieutenant Hallowell gives to this New York officer the credit of suggesting this skirmish line, and speaks in admiration of the manner in which he held it so long as a protection over the disorganized men by the river.

It was now dusk. The rebels could not come down

the bluff without entirely breaking up their own organization, and moreover could not see very well what was doing, owing to the bushes and trees and darkness. The line of skirmishers and the firing of scattered groups of men warned them of the danger of approaching the "last ditch," and kept them at bay for several hours. They therefore remained on the bluff and kept up a continual firing on the men among the trees, in the boats, and swimming.

The scow was immediately filled with wounded and started back for the island. It made one trip in safety, and the little boats also carried over their loads, but some of the wounded and many uninjured men were shot in the boats. Lieutenants Messer and Sturgis were sent over in the last skiff that got across.

The scow, having now returned, was again filled with wounded for her second trip, but as she was pushed off, a rush of uninjured men was made who loaded her so that her gunwales were almost level with the water. But even in this condition she had reached the middle of the stream in safety, when some of the men poling her were shot and fell on the gunwale. This of course disturbed the trim of the boat, and the frantic endeavors of the occupants to steady her again served only to make matters worse. She rolled completely over, and everybody was thrown out. As they came up to the surface again after their first plunge, they looked like a huge ball of men, entangled together and holding on to each other, rolling over and over in their desperate attempts to break apart and swim ashore. It was a fearful and heart-rending sight! Only one man is known to have escaped out of this entire boat-load. The scow floated down the stream and was lost. The metallic lifeboat was soon riddled by bullets and sank. The two little skiffs

also disappeared. Within half an hour not a single boat of any description was within reach. There was no hope of escape now for those who could not swim unless they could find relief above or below.

Colonel Lee, although most strenuously urged by his officers to go over to the island in one of the boats, refused to do so while a single wounded man remained. As all the boats were lost before the wounded were shipped, he failed of this means of escape. Then, accompanied by Major Revere, Assistant-Surgeon Revere, Adjutant Peirson, Lieutenant Perry, and a few men, he started up the river in search of some means of crossing. They attempted to make a raft of fence-rails by tying them with their sword-belts, but it sank as soon as launched. The party then continued up the river to Smart's Mill, opposite the upper end of the island, and there they thought of fording, but the water was so high and Colonel Lee so exhausted, they did not dare attempt it. A colored man, in consideration of their only ten-dollar gold-piece, showed them a boat, which they pulled out of the mill-stream; but as it was full of water and the firing was so close, they concluded that they had not time enough to stop to repair it, and so continued on.

They soon came to a place supposed to contain a picket of the enemy, which they tried to avoid by climbing over a gate of a farmyard, but they had got only half over when they were hailed, "Who goes there?" As the hail came from a company of rebel cavalry whose carbines were pointed toward them, they promptly replied loud enough for them to hear, "Hold on a minute, and we will get down," which they did, and surrendered.

After Colonel Lee's departure with his party, Captain Bartlett, being the senior officer left, gave the

order for all who could swim to plunge in and try to make their escape. Many of the men threw their guns and equipments into the river, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels, and started to swim to the island. Most of them took off their clothes before plunging in. Although the distance was so short, yet the water was cold and the current very strong (about three miles an hour), and the men were tired out, so that many a good swimmer found the task too great. The river now seemed covered with heads and was as white as in a great hail-storm where the rebel bullets struck, while the bluff was so high that the water afforded no protection from the leaden hail. A large number of the men were shot in the river, either killed or so disabled that they drowned.

Captain Babo and Lieutenant Wesselhoeft undertook to swim the river without taking off their uniforms, their shoes, or their equipments, even pistols. Nevertheless they seemed to be doing well until, immediately after a volley was fired, one of them was heard to exclaim in German that he was shot, and that was the last that was seen of either of them until Lieutenant Wesselhoeft's body was discovered thirteen days afterwards in the river some twenty miles below. As there was no wound upon it, it is probable that Captain Babo was the one shot, and his devoted friend had lost his life in trying to save him.

The muscular Captain Crowninshield swam over, saving his sword and carrying his watch in his mouth. Thoroughly exhausted he lay down and slept under a haystack, and when he awoke he went off to camp, forgetting his watch entirely. Lieutenant Hallowell swam across with his sword hanging from his neck. After getting some brandy to warm his half-frozen body, and a shirt and pair of drawers for covering,

he returned to the river-bank, where he found several of our men. As one of them thought that he knew of a rowboat on the Maryland side of the island, he was sent with a party to get it. Luckily they found it and brought it around, and Lieutenant Hallowell then sent it across to the foot of the bluff, where Captain O'Meara of the Forty-second New York took charge of it, and sent it back with a precious freight of wounded men. It made several trips in safety and rescued thirty or forty men, Sergeant Cowgill among the number, before the rebels came down under the bluff and captured the remainder. After dispatching the boat, Lieutenant Hallowell made a raft of fence-rails, fastened together with belts, and poled it back again to help some of the men off. With two of the Twentieth and one of the Forty-second men he started back again. When almost over, this frail craft separated, and two of the men were drowned, Lieutenant Hallowell and the other escaping. Most of the men that succeeded in swimming the river had taken off all their clothing, in many cases even their underclothing. Lieutenant Macy now offered to swim over and see if there was a chance left for boats to be brought to the assistance of the others. Throwing off everything but his cap (in which he carried the miniature of his *fiancée*), and carrying his sword in his hand, he started and finally reached the island, but without his sword, which he was compelled to drop when nearly over. But not a boat of any kind was to be had.

Captains Bartlett and Tremlett, Lieutenants Abbott and Whittier then started up the river to find some means of escape for themselves. They had with them about twenty men each of the Twentieth and Fifteenth Massachusetts, of the Forty-second New

York, and First California regiments. They soon reached Smart's Mill and were shown the same boat that Colonel Lee's little party had rejected. They, however, went to work on it and soon made it sufficiently seaworthy for their purposes. In it they transported their whole party, five at a time, Lieutenant Whittier, being sent over in the second load to take charge of the men as they arrived, while the other officers waited for the last trip. But all reached the island in safety about nine o'clock, contrary to their expectations. These appear to have been all that escaped, after the destruction of the boats, except the swimmers and perhaps some small parties of two or three men. About ten o'clock in the evening, while a part of the rebels remained on the bluff to shoot such men as should attempt to escape by swimming, another force descended to the shore of the river below, and marched up under the bluff and captured about everybody that was then left on that side of the river. It was then that they captured Captain O'Meara of the Tammany regiment, who had so bravely kept the rebels for four hours from coming down the bluff, and had so nobly preserved for the wounded the only chance for escape in the last boat left afloat.

A man of the Nineteenth Massachusetts took a small boat, abandoned on the Virginia side of the island, and made three trips, bringing back all the men he could find in that vicinity, about fifteen or twenty. Companies F of the Twentieth under Lieutenant Cabot and B under Lieutenant Le Barnes, both under command of Lieutenant Beckwith, crossed to Harrison's Island early on the 22d. This force was posted by Colonel Hincks, so as to protect the island as well as possible, considering that it was entirely overlooked by, and in full reach of, the bluff

where the fighting had taken place, and remained there until midnight, when they returned to their camps. During the morning of the 22d, Lieutenant Dodge of the Nineteenth Massachusetts was sent over to Ball's Bluff with a flag of truce to request permission to remove the wounded, which was finally granted. In the afternoon Captain Vaughn, with another flag and burial party of twelve, was sent across to bury the dead, and remained there until night.

As soon as General Stone knew of Colonel Baker's death and the disaster to our troops, he telegraphed to McClellan, who immediately ordered him to intrench on the Virginia side and wait for reënforcements, and at the same time ordered General Banks to his support with his entire division and to hold his position at all hazards. Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey under orders left camp at 3.30 A. M. of the 22d, with all the men that he had, including even camp-guards. He had only Company K that had not been engaged, but with it he took many men from the other companies who had been left in camp on Sunday and was joined even by very many of the men who had been in the fight.

General Stone had already got about twenty-five hundred men across the river at Edwards Ferry by evening of the 21st, and by ten of the next morning he had crossed in all forty-five hundred infantry, one hundred and ten cavalry, and two twelve-pound howitzers. On that afternoon at three o'clock Colonel Barksdale and the Thirteenth Mississippi made an attack, but were easily driven back to Fort Evans, where they remained with some cavalry and two guns to watch General Stone, while General Evans sent his other three regiments to Carter's Mill, about eight miles back from the river. General Stone was not

molested again, and during that night and the following day strengthened his position. Between 9 P. M. of the 23d and 5 A. M. of the 24th he withdrew his entire force to the Maryland shore. Colonel Palfrey, with the men of the Twentieth, reached Camp Benton about 2 A. M. of the 24th, without loss.

The casualties were as follows:

Colonel W R. Lee, captured. Major P J. Revere, wounded in leg and captured. Assistant-Surgeon E. H. R. Revere, captured. Adjutant C. L. Peirson, captured.

COMPANY A. Killed: Sergeant John Merchant; Corporal George W. Waters; Privates George F. Kelly, Patrick McDermott (died January 4, 1862), William Welch, Charles Wright. Wounded: First Lieutenant O. W. Holmes, Jr. (chest); Sergeant Otis L. Battles (slightly); Corporals William Babcock (slightly), Thomas Dwyer (thigh); Privates Thomas Chapin, William A. Edson, Alphonzo K. Graves, Leander Hanscom, Benjamin F Heath, Charles N. Homer (back), William O'Grady (finger amputated). Captured: Third Sergeant Robert H. Weston; Privates Abraham Brown, Alexander Brown, Gilbert W Dresser, Jeremiah C. Haley, Thomas Hartford, Henry R. Heath, Thomas Kelly, Daniel Murphy, Valentine P. Rollins, James R. Russell, Herman H. Shaw. William H. Smith, Timothy T. Torsey.

COMPANY C. Killed: Second Lieutenant Reinhold Wesselhoeft (drowned); Private Joseph Meyer (drowned). Wounded: Captain F. Dreher (severely in head); Sergeant Gustave Magnitzky (leg); Privates Philip P Joseff, Alois Kraft. Captured: Sergeant Frederick Will; Corporals James T. Goulding, David Griffin, Albert Reiss, Henry Vogel; Privates Charles Christely, William Fuchs, John B. Hayes, Joseph Heim, Franz Minuty, Christian Moegle, John Quimbly, Herman Rank, John Rohm, Frederick Ruppert, Jacob Schlicher, George Schuster, Jacob Wipfler, Franz Zeuner.

COMPANY D. Killed: Corporal Frank Sampson (died November 3, 1861); Privates Warren F. Eames, James Galligan,

Patrick McCullough, Daniel O'Brien, Amos H. Partridge (captured and died in Richmond, January 16, 1862), Calvin Porter, Joseph Wire. Wounded: Privates Josiah Proctor (in body), Albert Sherman (leg amputated), James G. Warren (front right shoulder, left side, and right thigh). Captured: First Lieutenant George B. Perry; First Sergeant Richard H. L. Talcott; Sergeants James M. Cogans, Horace A. Derry; Corporals Charles J. Curtis, Richard Hawkins, Seeley P. Reeves; Privates Alexander Aiken, John Baxter, John Dag, Richard Duffin, Job W Dupee, Francis Giesler, William Graham, William Irving, George Lucas, Clinton McQuestion, John Murphy, John J. O'Connell, Hugh O'Harren, Henry Place, Jr., Willard O. Reed, John Rumble, William H. Simester, James Smith, James Tettler.

COMPANY E. Killed: Second Lieutenant W. L. Putnam (died October 22, 1861); Privates William Augustus Leonard, Michael Murphy. Wounded: Captain G. A. Schmitt (three wounds in leg, one in small of back; never rejoined regiment). First Lieutenant J. J. Lowell (leg); First Sergeant Horace Moses Warren (severely; fractured left forearm, flesh wound left side and right thigh); Corporal Edward Seymour Stockwell; Privates Joseph F. Bent (groin), Timothy Dinahy, Samuel Hamilton, Cilenius Mason Pierce, Andrew Regan (captured), James Riley (shoulder), Uriah James Streeter, Michael S. Sullivan, William Tootell, Cornelius Leary (wounded in right thigh and captured). Captured: Sergeant Bernhardt L. Eckenstein, David W. Johnson; Privates George Britton, Patrick Doherty, Arthur Johnson, Cornelius O'Neil, John William G. Smith, William Thompson.

COMPANY G. Killed: Captain Alois Babo; Sergeant John P. McKay; Corporals George E. Simpson, Ebenezer Tripp; Privates Patrick L. Burke (died November 18, 1861), Patrick McDonough, John McGoldrick, George H. Meader, Daniel J. Roach, Dennis Shine. Wounded: Privates Patrick Crowley, John Dolan (left arm), Joseph Yeager (left side near base of lung). Captured: Sergeant Emery A. Mellen; Corporals Reuben Harlow, John Powers; Privates Frederick

S. Allen, Edward Barry, John Chapman, Ezra D. Chace, Thomas Glacken, Lawrence Griffin, John Noonan, Patrick Quinlan.

COMPANY H. Killed: Privates Henry W Brewer, James H. Collyer (died November 25, 1861), Edward P. Dunn, John Dwyer, William R. Hathaway (died November 27, 1861), Joseph Snell. Wounded: Captain John C. Putnam (right arm amputated at the shoulder joint); Corporal Charles Cowgill (side); Private Thomas Lew (lost right arm). Captured: Sergeants Thomas Armstrong, Thomas J. Pousland, William H. R. Reid; Corporal Thomas E. Ireson; Privates Henry Allbright, Jacob H. Alley, Nathaniel Q. Alley, James Clark, John Corbett, Thomas Donovan, William Duffie, Henry A. Fairbanks, John Flynn, Daniel Foley, James Folsom, Charles A. Foster, Richard L. Gardner, Thomas F. Mack, Charles O. Newell (wounded twice in body), William Powers, Tolman C. Richards, Joseph F. Rumney, William Woodward (Private Timothy Hart unaccounted for).

COMPANY I. Killed: Privates Alexander M. Barber (died November 21, 1861), Abednego Davis, Peter McKenna, Albert Stackpole (died October 26, 1861), George E. Worth. Wounded: First Sergeant William R. Riddle (right arm amputated above elbow); Corporals Thomas Hollis, James Seddon (ankle); Privates Thomas Dolan, Orlando N. Gammons (lost first joint forefinger of right hand), George C. Pratt (head and hip), Julius Strieck, John W Summerhayes. Captured: Privates Isaac S. Barker, Lewis Dunn, William F. Hill, Albert Kelley, Martin V. Kempton, Samuel Lowell, Edward V Skinner.

Those of the Twentieth that escaped death or capture found their way to Camp Benton as best they could between 10 P. M. of the 21st and daylight of the next morning.

The dead and wounded were collected in an old house on Harrison's Island, and were ferried across to the Maryland shore as rapidly as possible during

the night, and were then put on canal-boats and taken down to Edwards Ferry, where the wounded were sent to their different regimental hospitals, while the dead were laid on stretchers and on shutters and doors taken from the house on the island, and placed in a row on the porch of the old store near the ferry. It had been raining very heavily since early morning of the 22d, and one of the wounded, covered with a rubber blanket over his head, slept so soundly that the removal to the canal-boat did not awaken him, and he was carried to the porch with the dead and left there. Later in the morning, when our troops were crossing at the ferry to the Virginia side, many were the expressions of sorrow by the living for the dead. One of the soldiers, more curious than the rest, lifted the blanket from his poor comrade's face and was very much astonished to see the dead man open his eyes and look around to see where he was. Such was his sympathetic nature that he insisted on the wounded man taking his full supply of plug tobacco!

Lieutenant William Lowell Putnam was mortally wounded in the battle and died the next day in camp, and his body was sent to Boston. Private Stackpole of Company I died of his wounds on the 26th, and was buried near the camp with military honors.

On the same day, Colonel Henry Lee, Jr., of Governor Andrew's staff, William Lee, Esq., Dr. Russell, and Captain Putnam's father arrived to offer the sympathies of their friends at home and assistance from the Governor. They were followed in a few days by personal friends of other officers, and by Mr. Urbino and many friends of the Germans in Companies B and C. James Y. Smith, Esq., of Providence,

Rhode Island, asked the privilege of joining in the contribution to supply the articles lost by men who had covered themselves with so much glory in the battle, and sent one hundred dollars for the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts. The following general order was read at dress-parade, with the statement that Colonel Henry Lee, William Lee, Esq., and Dr. Russell were a special committee from Governor Andrew to express his sympathies and attend to the needs of the regiment:

General Order,
No. 70.

Headquarters 20th Regt. Mass. Vols.,
Camp Benton, Oct. 29, 1861.

His Excellency John A. Andrew, Governor of Mass. desires to express through the proper channel his sincere thanks to the officers and privates of the 20th Regt. Mass. Vols. for the bravery which they displayed in the recent battle at Ball's Bluff, and for the admirable discipline which their behavior there so strongly bears evidence of. He regrets the severe loss sustained by the regiment, and deeply sympathizes with the wounded and the suffering relatives of the dead and wounded, but will assure the regiment that they have earned and own a name brilliant and glorious, and that the Bay State is proud to recognize them as sons, and as sons worthy of the Commonwealth and worthy to share past glories of the Commonwealth.

By order of
F. W. Palfrey,
Lt.-Col. Commanding 20th Regt. Mass. Vols.

[Signed] W. F. Milton,
1st Lt. and Acting Adjt.

Many friends of the officers and men of the regiment now came to camp, and many who could not leave Boston sent delicacies for the wounded. These unfortunates were cared for most attentively, and most of them were soon in condition to travel. As fast as possible they were sent home to Boston to regain their health and strength.

The following stanzas were written by Brigadier-General Lander, on hearing that the Confederate troops said that "fewer of the Massachusetts officers would have been killed, had they not been too proud to surrender."

Aye, deem us proud, for we are more
Than proud of all our mighty dead;
Proud of the bleak and rock-bound shore,
A crowned oppressor cannot tread.

Proud of each rock, and wood, and glen,
Of every river, lake, and plain;
Proud of the calm and earnest men
Who claim the right and will to reign.

Proud of the men who gave us birth,
Who battled with the stormy wave,
To sweep the red man from the earth,
And build their homes upon his grave.

Proud of the holy summer morn
They traced in blood upon its sod;
The rights of freemen yet unborn:
Proud of their language and their God.

Proud that beneath our proudest dome
And round the cottage-cradled hearth,
There is a welcome and a home
For every stricken race on earth.

Proud that yon slowly sinking sun
Saw drowning lips grow white in prayer,
O'er such brief acts of duty done,
As honor gathers from despair.

Pride, 't is our watchword; "clear the boats,"
"Holmes, Putnam, Bartlett, Peirson — Here"
And while this crazy wherry floats
"Let 's save our wounded," cries Revere.

Old State — some souls are rudely sped —
This record for thy Twentieth Corps, —
Imprisoned, wounded, dying, dead,
It only asks, "Has Sparta more?"

Colonel Lee, Major Revere, Adjutant Peirson, Assistant Surgeon Revere, Lieutenant Perry, and a few men were captured early in the evening of the 21st a short distance above Smart's Mill. They were immediately taken to Leesburg, into a tavern, the headquarters of General Evans. Although they had had no food all day, were exhausted with fighting and walking, and would have been tempted by some compromise that included supper, yet when General Evans offered them the opportunity of returning on a parole which read, "All agree not to serve again during the war," not one would accept it. For some moments there was silence, then Cogswell said, "Shanks,[1] you ought not to offer this to gentlemen;" — then another, "You are no gentleman yourself to offer this;" and so on, each one speaking more emphatically, until the General became so enraged that he could not control himself and said, "Then you get out of this!"

Later in the evening they were given some supper and, starting at midnight in the drenching rain, most of them on foot, they were marched toward Richmond. (A lumber-wagon was provided for the few who were unable to walk.) In the morning as they marched along with their escort, the women came out of the houses and jeered at them, shouting, "Kill the damned Yankees!"

They finally reached the battlefield of Bull Run and were put into the Stone House, which still had

[1] General Evans's sobriquet at West Point, earned by the beauty of his lower limbs.

its floors left, but not much else. Here they were given some corn-bread and some raw pork, which they cooked themselves on fires made from laths torn from the buildings, and they have since declared that this was one of the most appetizing dinners they ever had in their lives. From here they were sent in freight cars to Richmond and put in Libby Prison, where their predecessors, those captured at Bull Run and other places, gave them all the provisions that they had reserved for some opportunity of escaping, — a most generous act.

On November 10 General Winder, the commandant, under orders of the War Office, selected six colonels, five lieutenant-colonels and majors, and three captains as hostages for Smith, already convicted of piracy, and the other men captured on the privateer who were on trial as pirates in New York. From these fourteen, seven were to be drawn by lot who were to be hanged if our government so treated the Southern privateers as it had expressed determination to do. Colonel Lee and Major Revere were among the number drawn as hostages, and they were carried off to Henrico County jail. These seven officers were confined in a cell, seventeen by eleven and one half feet, which gave scarcely room for the cots, benches, a stove, and table. There were two small windows to this cell, doubly barred. As the building, some twenty feet high, was surrounded by a wall of the same height only ten feet distant, there was but little light for them at that season of the year, and all the air and exercise they could get was in the little yard enclosed by the wall. The building was divided into four cells, the first story being occupied entirely by negroes, some thirty in all; and as the entrance was common to both stories, the stench was intoler-

able. The yard was used as a whipping-place for refractory negroes.

Their fellow prisoners left in Libby in vain offered to take the places of these unfortunates, but these offers were refused by the rebel authorities.

Governor Andrew, in behalf of the State and many friends of the prisoners, sent on clothing for them and money to purchase food, etc. Adjutant Peirson was the first of the captured members of the regiment to leave Richmond, his exchange having been effected on the 27th of January, 1862. On his arrival at Washington he had interviews with General McClellan, Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, and by interesting John M. Forbes of Boston and other men of influence he was successful in having the men under indictment as pirates restored to the position of prisoners of war, which resulted in the return of Colonel Lee, Major Revere, and their comrades on the 5th of February from jail to Libby Prison.

On February 20, Lieutenant Perry and sixty-five exchanged prisoners reached Fortress Monroe, went to Boston, and after a furlough of a few days rejoined the regiment. When the news of this prospective change reached Massachusetts, a friend of one of the prisoners called on his wife to bring her the good news of her husband's speedy exchange. "But," said the poor woman, with tears in her eyes, "I love Tom, the children love Tom, and I don't want him exchanged. I won't have a rebel husband, so now!" Colonel Lee, Major Revere, and Surgeon Revere reached Boston on the 28th, but on parole. They did not succeed in getting their exchange until Major Revere went to Fort Warren himself and selected three Confederate officers of corresponding rank to theirs. Colonel Lee then applied to the Secretary of

War that these selected officers might be permitted to proceed to Richmond, under pledge of honor to return in fifteen days, or send to our Government an order from the Confederate Government confirming the conditions of exchange of our officers. This plan succeeded. Our three officers thus obtained their exchange and rejoined the regiment on May 2, just in time to enter Yorktown.

STORY OF R. H. L. TALCOTT, FIRST SERGEANT, COMPANY D

We had been in Libby Prison some two weeks when Colonel Lee sent for me to come over to see him in a prison on another street. I was taken over by one of the rebel guards. Colonel Lee asked me many questions about the battle of Ball's Bluff, and among other things he made the assertion in this wise, saying that, "If you and I were in a hundred battles, we never could be under a hotter or more vicious musketry fire." Then he requested me to remain with him if it was agreeable to me. The thought of being in more spacious quarters and having better rations I gladly accepted, and was with him until his incarceration in jail. I well remember the day that General Winder and his staff came into the prison, and read the warrant for the incarceration of some Union officers to be held as hostages for execution in case certain privateers held by our Government were put to death. It was on the Sabbath day, bright and clear. As I remember, it was a question between Colonel Lee and Colonel Cogswell of the Forty-second New York which should be selected. The two officers drew lots, using straws held in the hand of one of the rebel staff officers. It fell to the lot of Colonel Lee to be selected. Afterwards Colonel Cogswell went

to the other side of the room and composed himself for sleep. A few days afterward an officer and men of the rebel guard came into the prison, and took into custody Colonel Lee, Major Paul Revere, our surgeon, Dr. Edward Revere of the Twentieth Massachusetts, and also some officers of the Fifteenth Massachusetts. They were put into the common jail in Richmond city and confined some weeks. I assisted Colonel Lee in making his toilet, so to speak, brushing his coat and also his boots as he put one foot after the other on a block of wood, — something I would not have cared to do for a younger man;[1] but all the officers condemned seemed to want to make themselves look as presentable as circumstances would allow. On asking Colonel Lee if there was anything more that I could do for him, he said, "No, Sergeant. All I want now is your best wishes." I answered, "You not only have my best wishes, but the best wishes of all the regiment." Undoubtedly he, in common with all of us concerned, looked upon the matter as a terrible reality. As some of the officers remarked, if retaliation should once begin, there would be nowhere to stop.

I need not say that the Colonel was a brave man, and that he seemed to think that perhaps he was sending his last message to the regiment of which he was so fond. He exhibited some emotion, but clearing his voice he said, "Tell the men" — and again a little clearing of the throat — "tell the men — tell the men that their colonel died like a brave man." I said to him, "Do you think that when our Government finds how we are situated here, that they will hang those pirates?" He replied, saying, "The Government has

[1] Colonel Lee was the oldest officer in the Army of the Potomac except General Sumner.

a policy to carry out, and they will do it, no matter whose neck stretches."

On settling down after this terribly disastrous affair of Ball's Bluff, Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey found himself the only officer left of the entire field and military staff, and consequently in command of the regiment, which it was necessary to reorganize temporarily in accordance with the following order: —

General Order,
No. 69.

Headquarters, 20th Regt. Mass. Vols.
Camp Benton, Oct. 24, 1861.

The following arrangements of this command will be observed until further orders.

Capt. Bartlett, Co. I, is detailed for duty as acting Lieutenant-Colonel.

Capt. Crowninshield, Co. D, is detailed for duty as acting Major.

Lieut. Milton, Co. G, is detailed for duty as Adjutant. They will be obeyed and respected accordingly. The non-commissioned officers and privates of Company G ready for duty are assigned to Capt. Tremlett of Company A, who ranks as senior Captain. The 1st Sergt. of Co. G, will report to Lieut. Hallowell, commanding Co. H, as 1st Sergt.

Capt. Shepard of Co. K takes rank as 2nd Captain.

The non-commissioned officers and privates of Co. E are assigned to Lieut. Macy, Co. I, who ranks as 3rd Captain.

The non-commissioned officers and privates of Co. D are assigned to Lieut. Hallowell, Co. H, who ranks as 4th Captain. Sergt. Burrill of Co. H will act as 1st Sergt.

Lieut. Cabot of Co. F ranks as 5th Captain, assisted by Lieut. Sturgis of Co. H as 1st Lieut.

Lieut. Le Barnes of Co. B takes command of that Company and ranks as 6th Captain.

It is to be understood that the above arrangement is adopted for the present emergency; it is subject to revision at any moment and is expected to continue only till new officers can be commissioned and arrangements made for filling up the regi-

ment. Where men are assigned in accordance with these orders, they will continue to occupy their quarters under charge of their ranking Sergeants, reporting to their commanding officers for duty.

By order of commanding officer,
W. F. MILTON, Acting Adjutant.

On November 5, Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey crossed the Potomac at Edwards Ferry, bearing a flag of truce, in order to make arrangements for bringing away the bodies of some of our soldiers who were killed at Ball's Bluff, and finding out whether letters and supplies could be transmitted to our men who had been taken prisoners. He was pleasantly received by Lieutenant-Colonel Jenifer and one of the officers of General Evans's staff, and arrangements were made for a party to cross the following morning at nine o'clock at Ball's Bluff. At that time Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey, with some New York officers, crossed again under a flag of truce and removed the body of Captain Alden of the Tammany regiment. They then learned of the condition of the officers and men of the Twentieth who had been captured, and delivered some money and clothing to the Confederates for the comfort of their unfortunate comrades.

The question had now to be seriously considered — with the depleted numbers, both of officers and men — of supplying the places, not only of the killed, but of the many who had been taken prisoners. Captain Tremlett and two commissioned officers, all of whom had acquitted themselves well at Ball's Bluff, were sent to Boston to endeavor to recruit two hundred men for the regiment, and recruiting was vigorously pushed by them at 7 Howard Street during the autumn and winter with considerable

success. Captain Herchenroder's resignation was accepted November 7, and Captain Walleston's on November 9.

On November 25 Governor Andrew filled up the roster of officers by promoting First Lieutenants Macy, Beckwith, and Cabot to captains, and Second Lieutenants Abbott, Tilden, and Sturgis to first lieutenants, and by commissioning as second lieutenants three enlisted men, viz.: First Sergeant William R. Riddle of Company I, Quartermaster Sergeant Henry F. Sander, and First Sergeant James Murphy of Company A, and three from civil life, viz.: Herbert C. Mason, Arthur R. Curtis, and Henry L. Patten, who joined soon after receiving their commissions.

On December 3 Captain Caspar Crowninshield left the regiment to accept a captaincy in the First Massachusetts Cavalry, in which branch of the service he later gained great distinction, attaining the rank of colonel and brevet brigadier-general before the close of the war. His departure from the regiment was much regretted by his brother officers and by the men of his company, even the toughest of the latter shedding tears at his leaving.

First Lieutenant N. P. Hallowell, who had previously declined promotion because he preferred to stay with his company, was made captain in his place. Second Lieutenant Whittier was made first lieutenant, and Henry Ropes of Boston was appointed second lieutenant, joining on December 31.

On November 12 we received our first pay since leaving the State, being paid in full up to November 1. Over eight thousand dollars was sent home by the men, in form of orders on Mayor Wightman of the city of Boston. The pay was then in good gold

dollars, a custom, however, which did not last very long into the war.

November 22 the regiment had its first brigade drill. On the same day Medical Cadet Norton Folsom arrived and reported to the surgeon for duty. On the 28th the first batch of recruits came from Captain Tremlett, and during the winter and until the end of March was followed by many others. The time was fully occupied while in winter quarters in breaking in these recruits and many new officers, as well as in improving the old men incompany, battalion, and brigade drill, instruction in guard duty, skirmishing, bayonet exercise, etc.

Early in February Surgeon Hayward completed quite an extensive bathhouse, on which he had been engaged with a large detail of men for some three weeks. He had taken a large log house which had been built for a storehouse, having a floor and fireplace, and removed the stores into another building which he built for the purpose. He then had a barber-shop partitioned off in one corner and a stove placed in it, and then built a sink for washing, with the drain connecting with those on the outside which had been built to carry off the water from the camp. He made requisition on the quartermaster for four camp kettles, made thirty washtubs out of half-barrels, had two barrels rigged with handles for bringing water, and, with plenty of nails driven into the log walls on which to hang up clothes, the regimental "temple of Hygeia" was completed. The men came in the first day by squads of twenty and thirty, and constant bathing was kept up from ten in the morning to seven in the evening. With the further assistance of a few blacking- and clothes-brushes the men felt better after their scrubbing,

and looked very much better. The affair was a great success. Everybody was delighted with it, and good nature reigned throughout the regiment. The surgeon also had some large square boilers made of iron to hold half a barrel of water apiece. These were intended for washing clothes, and he hoped, by utilizing them as packing-boxes, to be able to carry them in wagons on the march.

In December balloon ascensions for observation of the enemy were made in the neighborhood, and a part of Company D was detailed for balloon duty at Edwards Ferry, under command of Lieutenant Messer, and they remained on that duty until the army reached Harrison's Landing in the following July.

On the afternoon of Christmas Day a beautiful silk memorial flag was presented to the regiment, a gift from the sisters of Lieutenants Lowell and Putnam of Company E, the first of whom had been wounded and the latter killed at Ball's Bluff. It was a State flag, bearing on one side the name "Ball's Bluff" and the pine-tree of the State, below which was the motto, "Stand in the Evil Day." On the other side was the arm with the sword and the State motto. The presentation was made by Hon. John G. Palfrey, father of the Lieutenant-Colonel, who read the following letter from Charles Eliot Norton to the regiment on behalf of the donors: —

"Colonel, officers, and soldiers of the Twentieth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers: In the name of Massachusetts, and as representative of some of your friends and fellow citizens, I present to you this flag. I give it to you as a mark of honor for what you have already done, of confidence in your conduct in the future.

"The twenty-first of October is inscribed by Massachusetts in her calendar of days made memorable by the virtue of her sons. She will never forget your hard, faithful, glorious though defeated services on that day, — when you baptized, not in vain, the soil of Virginia with your blood. These colors bear that date upon them, and while they revive the memory of your valor, they revive also the memory of your loss, — of those brave dead who gave their lives for the cause for which Massachusetts had sent them out to do battle. Their memory is dear and sacred in our hearts forever. They died in the noblest of causes, — the cause of Government, Liberty, and Peace. For Liberty and Peace Massachusetts does not shrink from shedding her own blood, or from spilling that of her enemies. Her motto, that you will bear to battle on this flag, expresses her creed. "*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*" She seeks for liberty and peace, and will secure them with the sword. Yes, with the sword, the rifle, or the cannon. She bids you fight. Fight in the name of your dead and for the captives, whose places are vacant here and who are languishing in southern jails.

"All strength and beauty, that seem to perish with the dead on the field of honor, revive in your fresh confidence and resolution, and every mouldering arm, which will never more clasp the beloved ones, never more handle the sword or the musket, has bequeathed to you its vigor and its faithfulness. You shall hear the sighings of the prisoners, and, under God, you shall be the means of their deliverance.

"Take, then, this flag. Stand by it in the evil day. Bring it back when the sword has done its work, and let the stains of smoke and of blood upon it, and the rents in its folds, tell us the story of your deeds.

And may He who is the God of battles, as He is the God of peace, give you honorable death, or bring you back safe from war, according as by death or by life you can best serve his cause."

Edward N. Hallowell, first lieutenant and aide-de-camp to General Fremont, a brother of Captain Hallowell, was commissioned second lieutenant in the Twentieth on January 11, 1862, and joined on the 24th. Dr. Crehore came to the regiment in the middle of January as contract surgeon during Assistant Surgeon Revere's captivity. He proved a very agreeable companion and did most excellent service.

On January 25 two incorrigible rogues who had been tried by court martial, — one for stealing an officer's watch, the other for habitual drunkenness, — were drummed out of the regiment. The whole regiment was turned out at noon and formed in two lines, with a space of ten yards between. The prisoners were brought out in front of the regiment, with four guards in front, four behind, and one on each side, with rifles loaded and bayonets fixed. Then every button on their coats was cut off by one of the drummers, after which they had to march between the lines of the regiment, headed by a fifer and drummer playing the "Rogues' March." They were then escorted outside the lines of the camp, and warned that if they were caught inside the lines after that, they would suffer severely.

General Lander, the brigade commander, being wounded on October 22, opposite Edwards Ferry, was summoned to Washington and assigned to other duty. During his absence the brigade was commanded by Colonel Hinks of the Nineteenth Massachusetts until December 4, 1861, and from that time to Feb-

ruary 22, 1862, by Colonel J. R. Grosvenor of the Seventh Michigan.

On February 8 Lieutenant Lowell again joined the regiment, the first of the officers to recover from the wounds of Ball's Bluff.

On February 11 Second Lieutenant Arthur R. Curtis was commissioned first lieutenant, to date January 16, and William F. Perkins was again commissioned second lieutenant on the same date.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE POTOMAC TO THE CHICKAHOMINY

On February 22, 1862, General N. J. T. Dana, an officer of the Regular Army, took command of our brigade; and General Sedgwick was made the regular commander of our division.

On February 26 the Twentieth broke camp and took leave of Camp Benton. The first move was to Camp Foster, close to the village of Poolesville, where we occupied that night the tents of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, which had joined General Banks's command, and had started on the move to seize Harper's Ferry, and reopen the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This camp was rechristened Camp Lee in honor of our colonel, and there, two days later, were pitched the tents which had been removed from Camp Benton. On the 6th of March Lieutenant Milton was detailed as aide-de-camp to General Dana, brigade commander, and spent the rest of his term of service on staff duty, although keeping his commission in the regiment.

On March 8 Leesburg, the object of the unfortunate attack at Ball's Bluff, was abandoned by the rebels and occupied by General Geary. On the 11th at 10 A. M. the regiment left Camp Lee under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey and marched eight miles to the mouth of the Monocacy River, where canal-boats took it to Point of Rocks. Here it bivouacked until eleven o'clock on the morning of

the 12th, when it again took canal-boats to Harper's Ferry. It marched eight miles to Charlestown, Virginia, and bivouacked for the night. It marched through this little town the next morning in fine style, making a long halt in the middle of the town. On starting again the band struck up "Dixie," and to that tune marched with flying colors past the prison where John Brown had been confined. It continued its way twelve miles to Berryville and bivouacked for the night. This little town is nearly due west of Leesburg, and about thirty miles in a direct line west of the old position at Camp Benton, but beyond the Blue Ridge and Shenandoah River, and about ten miles east of Winchester, the seizure of which and the turning of the rebel left flank were the ultimate objects of the move.

We learned that Winchester had been abandoned by the Confederates and occupied by our troops the day previous, so that evening a vast body of troops came back from Winchester, and filled the great field and woods in our neighborhood with men for miles around. Our design having been accomplished, we retraced our steps, starting back on the 14th and marching to Charlestown, where we bivouacked on the same ground as two nights before. The next day we marched eight miles to Bolivar Heights, overlooking Harper's Ferry.

On March 19 the Twentieth had six hundred and eighteen men present in camp, sixteen in the hospital, and eight on duty at brigade headquarters, making a total of six hundred and forty-two men present. On this day Sumner's Second Army Corps was organized by the assignment of Sedgwick's, Richardson's, and Blenker's divisions, in accordance with the President's order of March 8 and McClellan's of

March 13, but Blenker's was detached before joining. The Tammany regiment (Forty-second New York) was transferred from Gorman's brigade to Dana's (now numbered the Third). On this date Adjutant Peirson left to take the position of acting commissary of subsistence on General Dana's staff, and Lieutenant Curtis was appointed acting adjutant of the regiment.

The regiment remained at Bolivar Heights until the 24th, improving its time with both battalion and brigade drills. Captain Putnam, who had returned to the regiment on the 19th, was feeling in very good condition, although he had lost one arm. But he soon found, as did Lieutenant Riddle, who had also lost an arm at Ball's Bluff, that he could not stand the strain of an active campaign. Captain Dreher, who had been most grievously wounded at Ball's Bluff, returned on the 22d. While here Captain Beckwith and Lieutenant Le Barnes resigned, and Lieutenant O. W. Holmes, Jr., was commissioned captain, and Second Lieutenants Muller and Messer were raised to first lieutenants.

On March 24 the regiment left at seven o'clock in the morning, and marched from Bolivar through Harper's Ferry over the railroad bridge which had just been rebuilt and down the river to Sandy Hook, where it took train for Washington, from whence it embarked on steamer to Fortress Monroe and Hampton. We disembarked at Hampton and marched out a mile on the road to Big Bethel and bivouacked. Here we had a most excellent view of the Monitor, a most insignificant looking affair, so much so that one would laugh at the idea of her fighting the Merrimac. Her turret did not reach up to the deck of a small ship.

The next morning, April 1, was beautiful; the day was bright and warm, and the trees were already budding. On April 4 at 9 A. M. we marched through Little Bethel and Big Bethel, and bivouacked just beyond the latter village at six o'clock in the evening. Here were very extensive earthworks and barracks which had been deserted by the rebels the day before.

The next morning, leaving camp at five o'clock, the regiment marched to Howard's Bridge, where the rebels had extensive works, which we reached about nine o'clock. The firing of heavy guns was heard a long distance ahead continuously after nine o'clock, and moving ahead of the other divisions, we turned off on a cross-road to the left, where musketry firing was soon heard, and then passed through an extensive rebel camp very recently deserted. After a long tramp through the mud, the troops came to an open clearing in the woods, where about thirty thousand men were drawn up in close column, with artillery in the rear and on the flanks. The firing soon ceased, and the regiment finally camped four miles beyond Big Bethel, within five miles or less of Yorktown and near Dr. Powers's house. The rebels were intrenched in a semicircle one mile and a quarter in front, in what was known afterwards as the Wynn's Mill works. This was the centre column of the army, Smith's division of Keyes's Fourth Corps being on the left on the lower Warwick River, and Hamilton's division of Heintzelman's Third Corps on the right in front of Yorktown.

On the 7th the regiment had its first movement in this campaign in the neighborhood of the enemy. It was ordered to fall in at 7 A. M. without knapsacks, and started immediately on a reconnoissance with the Nineteenth Massachusetts and the First Massa-

chusetts Sharpshooters, all under General Dana, and with an engineer officer. Captain Shepard being officer of the day, Captains Putnam and Tremlett sick, and Lieutenant Tilden officer of the guard, they were left in camp; so Lieutenant Mason commanded Company H, the left flank company, Lieutenant Whittier Company A, and Lieutenant Ropes Company K.

The troops marched about two miles and halted on the edge of the woods, formed line, and then advanced some distance through the woods, coming out at last on a road and forming line, the Nineteenth on the right and the Twentieth on the left. Pickets were then sent out, who soon discovered the rebels. Before long moderate musketry fire was opened which was kept up for some hours. About three o'clock we fell in again and marched by the left flank along the road to an open field, where the Nineteenth halted while the Twentieth continued, soon coming to the burning ruins of a fine house, where it turned from the road, and entering the woods came out at an open place. After marching along the edge of these woods it halted and formed line.

Company I was then thrown out as skirmishers, soon followed by Companies A and F. Just then the rebels opened with a thirty-two pound shell, which was thrown into the Nineteenth on our right. The Twentieth was protected by a slight elevation. A detachment of sharpshooters was sent forward, and soon the firing of the rebel artillery slackened very much. The regiment was moved forward and formed line close to the enemy, but unseen by them, owing to the hill. As General Dana had only come for a reconnoissance and did not wish to bring on a battle, no further movement was made, and the

troops were ordered back. No one in the Twentieth was hit in this reconnoissance, but some damage was done to the Nineteenth.

On the 10th Lieutenant Sturgis went as aide-de-camp on the staff of General Berry, commanding the Third Brigade in Kearney's First Division of Heintzelman's Third Corps, and served with him in the battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Savage's Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill, and until obliged to resign his commission from illness on July 10, 1862.

The brigade remained here until the 16th, when it broke camp and moved forward with four companies of the Twentieth. The whole division, except the cavalry, went with them. This was the time when the Vermont brigade of Smith's division, of the Fourth Corps, on the left, waded across Warwick Creek and broke through the enemy's line, but, as no supports were ordered up, had to retire. During the night there was a very sharp musketry fire in the advance, and brigade line was formed; but soon the fire slackened and the men were dismissed, though ordered to remain with arms ready and not to undress. There was no further alarm during the night, however. It turned out that the rebels had made a sortie in return, and had been repulsed by the Second Vermont. The next morning we moved into an open place and pitched camp, which we called Winfield Scott.

From this time on the troops were very near the enemy's works, and were turned out constantly during the night. There was sharp picket firing all the time, day and night. Every day one brigade did picket duty in front of the division, the picket posts being about an eighth of a mile from the rebel works. No music or calls of any kind were allowed

in camp. The troops were roused up every morning at three o'clock and kept standing under arms until full daylight. When not on picket, the regiment furnished frequent details for working-parties, both night and day, on roads, fortifications, and in the trenches. The outworks of the enemy were visible through the trees by day, and the lights of their working-parties by night. Even the sound of their conversation could be distinctly heard, and an occasional shot from a sharpshooter or a volley of musketry kept the picket on the *qui vive*.

On the 18th the regiment was turned out at 12.30 A. M., and stood under arms for three hours on account of sharp firing in front. There was smart firing all day, and Private Kershaw of Company H was wounded in the breast, the first Twentieth man injured on the peninsula. Easter Sunday, April 20, the entire brigade was suddenly turned out under arms, marched forward, and formed in line of battle, where it remained until nearly sundown. It was again turned out in the evening, formed in line, and kept waiting until one in the morning, when it turned in again. On the 23d a detail from the regiment with one from the Nineteenth Massachusetts went out at 6 P. M. to Battery 7 and worked all night, mounting seven guns, and returned to camp at eight o'clock the next morning. Such was the routine of working and watching, fighting and digging, with constant alarms and forming line, with incessant firing in front, and almost incessant rain from above, and with interminable wet and mud below.

On the 23d Captain Bartlett, the acting lieutenant-colonel, was seriously wounded by a sharpshooter while in command of our picket line. He had gone to the advanced posts and was crouching

down examining the enemy's works with a glass, when a ball struck him in the knee and shattered the bones down to the middle of the calf. He was immediately brought in on a stretcher and his leg was amputated, and he was sent to Ship Point and then to Washington and Baltimore. This was a sad loss to the regiment, for he was an unusually able and gallant officer, and was admired by everybody. He never rejoined the regiment, for as soon as he was able to do duty again, he was commissioned colonel of the Forty-ninth Massachusetts. In this position, and later as colonel of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts, as brigadier-general, and as brevet major-general, he increased the reputation that he had earned in the limited sphere of the Twentieth regiment, and made his name one of the most famous in the roll of the noble soldiers of Massachusetts.

On the evening of May 2, Colonel Lee, Major Revere, and Assistant Surgeon Revere, having finally secured their exchange, reached the regiment, much to the delight of all. The next morning Colonel Lee went out on picket in command of the regiment, and at three o'clock on the following morning, Sunday, May 4, all were turned out under arms because of heavy infantry firing on the right. Just then an aide-de-camp came up on the gallop and ordered the Colonel to advance on the enemy's works, as they had evacuated. Colonel Lee gave the order, and the regiment entered the woods in front and came out on an open swamp right in front of the extensive works of the rebels. A few signal men could be seen on part of the works, but no guns or flags. The regiment waded through a swamp and crossed two very deep and broad ditches of water by means of bridges left by the rebels, and at a quarter before

eight mounted the principal redoubt. Colonel Lee instantly shouted for the regimental flag, and in a few minutes it waved, the first United States flag on the rebel works at Yorktown. Soon after the regiment had occupied this part of the works, other regiments came up, and the Twentieth moved into the fort, stacked arms, and rested on the large parade-ground inside. At about noon it marched back to the old camp.

Early in the morning of the fourth the entire cavalry force of the army and five divisions of infantry, all under command of General Sumner, were sent forward toward Williamsburg, by the two roads leading from the Yorktown line of defences, to harass the enemy's rear and try to cut off his forces. The roads were already in very bad condition, and became almost impassable from the heavy rain. At 7.30 A. M. of the 5th, General Hooker opened the attack, and quite a severe fight ensued, lasting until the middle of the afternoon, when the enemy continued his retreat. This is what is known as the Battle of Williamsburg, in which the Union losses were 2228 and the Confederate losses 1560. The Twentieth took no part in it, but remained near Yorktown.

On the morning of this day the regiment fell in and marched about three miles to the right, to within half a mile of Yorktown, and halted near the York River. The land here was rather hilly and very pretty, with the grass green and the trees in flower. Late in the afternoon the two divisions of the corps were ordered to march to Williamsburg; but the orders were changed before any movement had been made, and the regiment was directed to go by water to West Point to support General Franklin in his attempt to cut off Magruder's retreat from that

point, and started for Yorktown. With only half a mile to march it took eleven hours, until six o'clock on Tuesday evening, to get over that ground. It had settled down into a regular steady rain, and all the troops were exposed for the whole night to this pouring cold rain and deep mud, while Headquarters was trying to empty three roads full of troops into one small town and get them on board ship at the same moment.

At eight o'clock on Tuesday, May 6, the regiment embarked on the steamer C. Vanderbilt in company with the Nineteenth Massachusetts. It was six o'clock before the wharf at West Point was reached, about twenty-five miles northwest of Yorktown up the York River at the junction of the Pamunkey and Mattapony. A little further up the Pamunkey River we stopped for the night opposite an immense open flat on the southerly bank, where a great many troops had already landed. The river was crowded with boats and barges, and several gunboats were there also.

Disembarking at about 6 A. M. by means of the boats of the pontoon train, it was nearly ten o'clock before everything was ashore. The regiment was soon ordered into line without knapsacks, as scattering fire had begun on the edge of the field where the woods began. The infantry and artillery were rapidly thrown forward, and the Twentieth was marched out and drawn up in line of battle nearly in the centre of the field, but rather nearer the river. The troops then moved into the woods in front and on the right, while the Twentieth was marched to the left, and drew up in line of battle facing the woods in that direction, with the left resting on the river. The fighting here was by General Franklin's division, in the

centre and on the right. The rebel force was General Whiting's division and part of Magruder's command.

On the 9th we fell in about one in the afternoon, and marched at five o'clock with the rest of the brigade about three miles up the southern bank of the Pamunkey and bivouacked at Eltham's. On the 11th General McClellan visited camp. News was received during the day of the occupation of Norfolk and the blowing up of the Merrimac that morning. During the whole of this retreat of the rebels and the slow pursuit up the peninsula, there were constant rumors that they would surrender and give up the war, or at least abandon Richmond without a battle, and Colonel Lee then secured the promise of the position of provost marshal of Richmond as compensation for his sufferings there. The regiment stayed here until the 15th, when it marched to a point about a mile and a half from Cumberland, ten miles up the river. Remaining at Cumberland until Sunday, the 18th, on that day the regiment started at seven o'clock, and marched through New Kent Court House and camped in a beautiful spot about four miles from White House. On the 21st we marched all day, making about ten miles, and going beyond Baltimore Cross Roads, where we encamped about three miles from Bottom's Bridge over the Chickahominy.

On the 23d we started without knapsacks at 7.30 A. M., took the railroad track of the Richmond and York River Railroad, and made a reconnoissance, together with the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania of Burns's brigade, marching about ten miles through woods and over farms, and finally pitched camp on the northerly side of the railroad about four miles from the last place, and remained for some time. This place was called Camp Tyler for ex-

President Tyler, whose magnificent estate was close by. This is a fine farming country with a great deal of wheat growing, and there are beautiful woods and frequent springs of good water.

On May 28 General Porter, on the right, having made a movement to Hanover Court House, where he won a brilliant little fight against General Branch, the regiment was ordered to march at 4.30 A. M. to his old lines near New Bridge, and was halted in a field with the rest of the division and remained there until 6 P. M. of the next day.

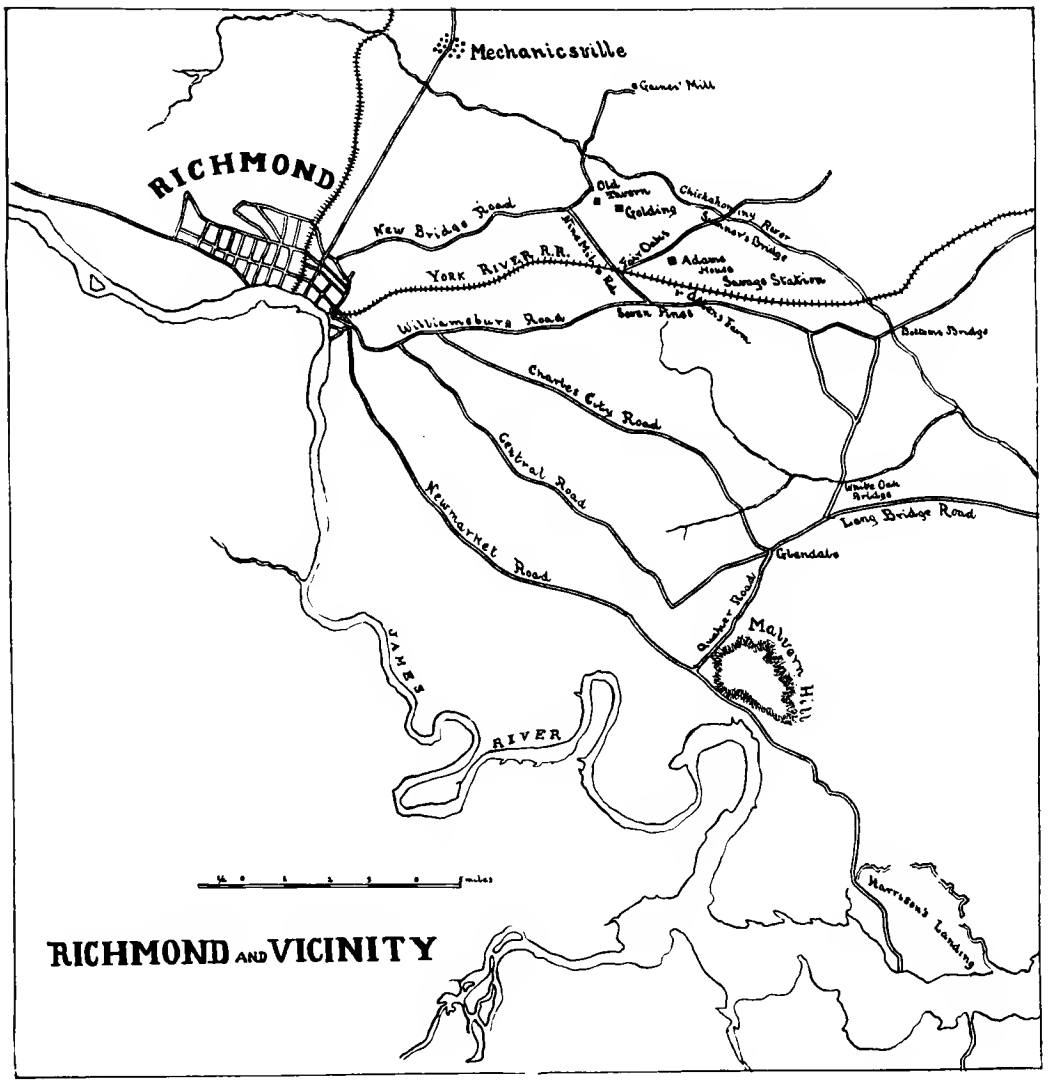
The 30th was very hot, followed by a tempest at night, — a perfect deluge of rain. About midnight heavy cannonading was heard toward Richmond.

CHAPTER IV

FAIR OAKS

On Saturday, May 31, and Sunday, June 1, 1862, was fought the Battle of Fair Oaks. A few days before Keyes's Fourth Corps and Heintzelman's Third Corps had been pushed across the Chickahominy River on the Williamsburg Road, the direct road to Richmond. Keyes's corps was in the advance, and its leading division, Casey's, had gone to Seven Pines and begun to throw up works to hold this important position and the road in the rear, which connected the separate wings of the army, but only slight progress had been made on the fortifications by that evening.

This division held the extreme front line, protected by these unfinished works, with three brigades in line across the Williamsburg Road. A short distance behind Casey was the other division of the Fourth Corps, Couch's, who had two brigades in line across the Williamsburg Road in front of Seven Pines, while his third brigade was on the Nine Mile Road about a quarter of a mile east of Fair Oaks Station, being in echelon beyond the right of the other two brigades. The Third Corps was considerably in the rear of the Fourth, Hooker's division of three brigades watching the road from White Oak Swamp on the extreme left and rear, and one brigade of Kearney's division being at Bottom's Bridge, so that these four brigades did not get into the fight of the 31st at all. But two brigades


Mechanicsville
Gaines' Mill
RICHMOND
Old Tavern
Golding
Chickahominy River
New Bridge Road
Meadow Br.
Four Oaks
Adams House
Savage Station
York River R.R.
Williamsburg Road
Seven Pines
Bottoms Bridge
Charles City Road
Central Road
Newmarket Road
White Oak Bridge
Long Bridge Road
Glendale
Quaker Road
Malvern Hill
JAMES RIVER
Harrison's Landing
miles
RICHMOND AND VICINITY

of Kearney's division had been moved forward on the 30th, and encamped near Savage's Station, and did good service. These troops were the only ones then across the Chickahominy. If this had been an ordinary river, their position would not have been precarious, provided good works had been thrown up in front and plenty of bridges built. But it was far different with the treacherous Chickahominy, "of which," as General Palfrey says, "it was hard to say at the best of times where its banks were, and of which no man could say to-day where its banks would be to-morrow." The Second Corps encamped near the Tyler house, about a mile from the river on its northerly or left bank. The upper bridge was three miles in a straight line from Fair Oaks Station, and the lower one was two miles from Savage's Station. The Second Corps was the nearest body of troops on that side of the river. General Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate commander-in-chief, having learned of the isolated position of General Keyes's corps, planned to crush it while it was separated from the others, and moved twenty-three of his twenty-seven brigades against the six brigades of this corps, while he sent his other four brigades under General A. P. Hill to watch the right flank of the Federal Army across the river between New and Meadow Bridges. His plans were assisted by the elements, for on the night of the 30th a most violent tempest arose, with a perfect deluge of rain, which raised the water in the Chickahominy to a deep and rushing torrent.

General Longstreet, commanding the rebel right, consisting of his own division of six brigades and General D. H. Hill's division of four brigades, marched straight down the Williamsburg Road toward General Casey's position. General Huger, forming part of

Longstreet's command, with his division containing three brigades, was sent to the right by the Charles City Road, from which he was to turn into the White Oak Swamp Road and come in on the rear of General Couch's left. General Gustavus W. Smith, the second in rank, with his own division, then commanded by General Whiting, consisting of five brigades, and General Magruder's division, containing five brigades, was sent north of the railroad over the Nine Mile Road to turn the right. The rebel army then was disposed with fourteen brigades north of the railroad. General Johnston went himself to his left wing to take charge there, where unforeseen complications might arise by General McClellan attempting to send over reinforcements. President Jefferson Davis and General Robert E. Lee came out with the rebel army and were a short distance in the rear.

General Longstreet opened the battle at 1 P. M. With D. H. Hill's four brigades, supported by two of his own, he made a fierce attack down the Williamsburg Road on Casey's division. These troops were the rawest and least disciplined in the Federal Army, and some of them behaved badly. But probably the majority of them showed courage and made as good a stand as could be made by green troops, with their organizations considerably broken, against twice their number; for then the rebels had six brigades actually fighting (besides three in support) against three. However, they were quickly driven back to their second line, Couch's division of their corps; but they were thoroughly broken up, having lost very heavily in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides an enormous number of stragglers, and as an organization were of no more use in this battle. Couch's division made a good stand here, but was

gradually forced back beyond Seven Pines and nearly to Savage's Station. Here they were reinforced by two brigades of Kearney's division of the Third Corps, and by the stout fighting of these five brigades (one of which was soon cut off north of the railroad) Longstreet was stopped at dark, although he had in the mean time put in two more of his brigades, making eight in all engaged.

General Johnston had his left wing in position at the junction of the Nine Mile and New Bridge Roads in ample season, and waited for the sound of Longstreet's attack. Owing to the intervening woods or some peculiarity of the atmosphere, he could not hear his musketry, and it was 4 P. M. before an aide, whom he had sent to General Longstreet, reported that the latter had been engaged for an hour and was pressing forward with vigor. General Johnston, seeing no sign of reinforcements coming from the Federal troops north of the Chickahominy and thinking that the river was probably impassable by that time, left Magruder alone to continue the watch, and immediately started with Smith's five brigades down the Nine Mile Road to Fair Oaks Station, intending to bring these additional troops into action on the right flank and rear of the Fourth Corps. This result was partially accomplished, for General Johnston and the two leading brigades actually passed Fair Oaks Station and got south of the railroad, having thus passed by the right flank and into the right rear of Casey's original line. As they came up, however, after Casey's right had been driven back on to Couch's extreme right brigade, they struck in front, and on the right of this brigade, the then extreme right flank of the Fourth Corps. General Keyes ordered Couch to advance with two regiments

from the right and overthrow the rebel left. This General Couch attempted, being immediately reënforced by one additional regiment from each of the other two divisions, but his force was too insignificant and was quickly brushed aside, although he captured a few prisoners; and in twenty minutes the two brigades brought by General Johnston joining the advance of the rebel left wing pushed on, leaving Couch and his four regiments, with four guns of Brady's battery, north of the railroad, entirely isolated from his corps. The third brigade of Johnston's left wing under Pettigrew was now approaching Fair Oaks Station by the same road, followed by Hatton's and Hampton's brigades. General Couch was therefore obliged to fall back on the Grapevine (Sumner's upper) Bridge Road, which he did for about half a mile, halting on a slight elevation near the Adams house, within view and range of Fair Oaks Station. From this point he opened with his four guns on Pettigrew's brigade, although even then he kept his little brigade in column of regiments ready to deploy and fight, or to retreat to the river, or to try and cut through and rejoin his corps, or to march around to Savage's Station, as should prove necessary or advisable.

Pettigrew first sent a regiment against this battery, but it was easily driven back. He then advanced with his whole brigade, but could make no impression. General Smith therefore stopped his last two brigades, Hatton's and Hampton's, and formed them on Pettigrew's left, while Whiting's brigade was turned back across the railroad and formed on Pettigrew's right. This was about 4.30 P. M.

At 1 P. M. with the first sound of battle, General McClellan sent orders to General Sumner to be in

readiness to move with his corps at a moment's notice. The Twentieth instantly fell in without knapsacks, with sixty rounds of ammunition and one day's rations. This noble old soldier, always ready for battle, formed his columns, and with the sound of the conflict in his ears marched them toward the guns to the furthest point permissible by his orders, and only halted when the heads of column rested on the bridges, Sedgwick's division, in which was the Twentieth, at the Grapevine and Richardson's division at the lower bridge. This promptness in moving out saved at least an hour, and so saved the day on the north side of the railroad.

General Sumner himself was with Sedgwick's division at the upper bridge head waiting anxiously and impatiently for the order to cross. About 2.30 it came, and "Forward!" was immediately sounded. The bridge fortunately held together, and the weight of the troops held it down and in place. The infantry got over without excessive difficulty, but the artillery found crossing almost impossible, so that of the entire corps artillery, Kirby's Battery I, of the First United States, was all that could be brought over. This was accomplished only by heavy details of infantry, almost carrying the guns by sheer muscle, oftentimes up to their waists in water. Of our division first came Gorman's brigade, with the First Minnesota leading; then Burns's brigade, followed by Dana's. The Nineteenth Massachusetts was on outlying picket, and therefore did not cross until the next day, while the Forty-second New York was left after crossing to protect the bridge, so that in the brigade only the Seventh Michigan and the Twentieth got a share in this fight, the latter being the last regiment of the division to get up.

Only one brigade, French's, of Richardson's division, succeeded in crossing the lower bridge before it became impassable, and the other brigades were obliged to march up on the left bank and cross the upper bridge later on. Only two and a half brigades and five light twelve-pounders arrived in season to assist Couch's four regiments and four guns on the 31st, making his total force three and a half brigades and nine guns. After crossing the flooded low ground near the river, the troops ascended quite a hill and came into a very pretty open country, through which they marched at quickstep for a mile, when they reached the Trent house, where they stopped and loaded. They started again immediately, and pressed on as rapidly as possible, soon hearing firing in front; then they hurried on, most of the time at double-quick, wading through a stream and pushing on with the utmost rapidity, although it was terribly muddy and awfully hot.

At 4.30, as soon as General Couch saw General Sumner coming up with reinforcements, he deployed his own troops, placing the Sixty-fifth New York and Eighty-second Pennsylvania close in front of the woods on the right of the road to Fair Oaks Station, and the Sixty-second New York and Seventh Massachusetts in the open field on the left of the road in support of the guns. While he was deploying, Sumner's leading regiment, the First Minnesota, arrived, and was detached to extend the line on the right of Couch. Sully's First Minnesota was not a moment too soon, for as he was deploying, a rebel column appeared in the edge of the woods, and then, seeing troops forming, fell back under cover to form line for an assault. Gorman's other regiments reached the scene about five o'clock, and were turned

in to the left of the road and there deployed, the Fifteenth Massachusetts in support of Brady's four guns, soon rëinforced by three of Kirby's coming up behind this division, the Eighty-second and Thirty-fourth New York beyond the Adams house, forming nearly at right angles to the rest of the line and almost parallel to the Fair Oaks Station Road.

General Sumner, who had assumed command of the field, had now at five o'clock two brigades and seven guns in position. The rebels then renewed their attack, apparently with the entire four brigades then present under General Smith; viz., Whiting's, Pettigrew's, Hatton's, and Hampton's.

Smith's troops fought most gallantly, making many charges directly against the centre held by the Sixty-fifth New York and Eighty-second Pennsylvania, and also rushing from the woods across the road and swinging to the left against the guns. Although their men did nobly and sometimes came within fifteen yards of the guns, they were driven back every time.

In the mean time, about 5.30, Burns's brigade came up, and two regiments, the Sixty-ninth and Seventy-second Pennsylvania, were sent to extend the right beyond the Courtney house, while the others were placed in support of the left centre. Two guns of Brady's battery were sent to assist the First Minnesota, on which the enemy now made a furious assault. This attack also was repulsed.

At 5.45 the Twentieth came in sight of the field and found Kirby's five guns and the two guns of Brady's left section with a line of infantry on each side on a little elevation near the Adams house. The artillery and infantry were firing very rapidly. The Twentieth immediately turned in from the left of

the road and hurried to the left of the line behind the crest, and, as they came on, were ordered to take position in extension of this flank on top of the ridge by the command, "On the right by file into line!" It then took position about one hundred yards to the south of the Adams house. The Seventh Michigan was formed on the left, making the extreme left flank of this wing. The Twentieth was ordered to commence firing by file as soon as it got into line, which was promptly done, and as the line developed, the hostile fire became quite warm. The left wing of the line was nearly at right angles to the right wing; and about two hundred and fifty yards in front of and parallel with the line was a road which was the continuation of the road from our bridge to Fair Oaks Station. Beyond this road were woods in which the enemy was formed. We were soon ordered to move to the left, and ceased firing, faced to the left, marched about a hundred yards, faced to the front again, and reopened fire. After a few minutes of heavy firing the rebels attempted to capture the guns by assault. Some of them got within fifteen yards of the guns, but could not stand the fire. As they fell back, General Sumner gave the order for the whole line to charge, and it moved forward on double-quick with fixed bayonets, tore down the fences on both sides of the road, and charged into the woods. Our part of the line had to charge over a soft and muddy plowed field into which the men actually sank up to their knees at every step. The enemy fled. We were then halted and ordered back to the road, where we were formed and moved a little to the left on the road, and again formed line. A force of the enemy was drawn up beyond the road in a piece of woods on the left near the station, and opened a brisk fire, but

on firing a single volley on them and again charging with the bayonet, they gave way. Our troops followed them about a hundred yards into the woods, then halted and soon stopped firing, and the battle north of the railroad was over for the day. It was then so dark that the men could not see each other's faces, probably about eight o'clock.

The total Confederate force actually engaged in the separate fight on the northerly side of the railroad was Smith's division, consisting of the five brigades commanded by Pettigrew, Hatton, Hampton, Whiting, and Hood. Opposed, the greatest number engaged was the three and one half brigades specified, which contained fourteen regiments and nine guns. As the rebels started from their works on a carefully planned attack, while Sedgwick's division had been hurriedly summoned and had therefore left guards, etc., behind, taking only the men immediately available, it is most likely that they had more men to a regiment than their opponents in this fight. They fought splendidly and they also give the Federals credit for fighting magnificently.

General Johnston was wounded in the shoulder by a rifle shot, and soon after, about seven o'clock, disabled by a wound from a fragment of shell. Of their five brigade commanders General Hatton was killed, General Pettigrew wounded and captured, and Colonel Hampton wounded in the foot, although he was able to keep his saddle. They suffered a loss of twelve hundred and seventy-three. The loss of Sedgwick's division was three hundred and forty-seven, and in Couch's force one hundred and twenty-one (which includes those lost south of the railroad), a total of four hundred and sixty-eight. The Twentieth captured General Pettigrew and Lieutenant-

Colonel Bull, both of South Carolina, and also took prisoners from North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Texas regiments.

Between 6.30 and 7 A. M. of Sunday, June 1, some of the troops on the south of the railroad, who had slept on their arms within half musket range of each other, came into collision by accident and without the intention of the commanders on either side. Some splendid fighting was there done by Richardson's division of our corps and Hooker's division of the Third Corps, neither of which had been engaged on the previous day, against troops of Longstreet's, D. H. Hill's, and Huger's divisions. This action lasted about two hours, when the rebels were driven back, and their whole army then retired to the defences of Richmond; when the troops south of the railroad reoccupied the position captured from Casey, throwing pickets out in front, while we, on the north of the railroad, took position on the Nine Mile Road beyond our field of battle.

The casualties of the Twentieth at Fair Oaks were: —

COMPANY A. Killed: Private Alvin Tower (died June 8, 1862). Wounded: Private Jeremiah C. Haley (slightly).

COMPANY B. Wounded: Corporal William Wanders (severely in head); Private Joseph Pabst (slightly).

COMPANY C. Wounded: Sergeant Philip P. Joseff (slightly); Private John S. Betz.

COMPANY D. Wounded: Private John Lyon.

COMPANY E. Killed: Corporal Thomas Dwyer (died June 2, 1862). Wounded: Corporal Uriah J. Streeter (thigh).

COMPANY F. Wounded: Privates John Daly (slightly), Levi

Gilman (finger), Thomas B. Love (slightly), Eugene McLaughlin (slightly), Michael O'Connor (toe).

COMPANY H. Killed: Privates Alexander Devlin (died June 2, 1862), Charles A. Foster. Wounded: Privates Patrick Foley (slightly), Christian Spicer (in side).

COMPANY I. Killed: Private Abraham C. Rush. Wounded: Second Lieutenant William R. Riddle (injured by horse); Corporal William Kelley (slightly); Private George R. Bailey (slightly).

COMPANY K. Wounded: Privates Henry Bowman (slightly), Theophilus Chase (slightly), Michael Donnelly (in chest), Martin Foley (slightly), John F. McQuade (thigh), Adam Morton (slightly).

Lieutenant Riddle, who was thrown down by General Dana's dying horse, had the tender stump of his arm, which had scarcely healed since his wound at Ball's Bluff, so injured that after a short stay at the hospital he was obliged to give up service in the field forever. Three of the wounded men were unable to return to the regiment, so that the Twentieth lost permanently one lieutenant and eight men in this battle. Lieutenants Peirson and Milton were in the battle serving on General Dana's staff, and Lieutenant Sturgis was attached to Berry's staff in the Third Corps.

CHAPTER V

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE

On June 1 it rained again heavily in the morning, but cleared off very hot later in the day. The bridge by which we had crossed the Chickahominy was carried away this day, and as Bottom's Bridge was also impracticable, we were entirely cut off from the left bank. There was another heavy tempest on the night of the following day, succeeded by hot weather during the next day, with another very heavy rain that evening. All through this weather and until the 8th we remained in the advanced line, a short distance in front of our battlefield of May 31, covering Fair Oaks Station, and with our pickets a quarter of a mile in advance near a shanty on the Nine Mile Road. On the 6th the corps moved forward about half a mile nearer Richmond, with the left wing of the regiment across the railroad and still in the very front line.

From May 31 to June 11 we remained in proximity to the enemy, so that we were unable to take off our equipments, not even our boots, and for most of the time — until the bridges were rebuilt — we had very short rations and no tents or even blankets, so that we had to stand in the mud and rain by day and lie in it at night, with no protection and no chance of drying ourselves except by nature's remedy, the sun, when the clouds occasionally allowed it to shine.

On the 11th we were relieved in the front line and marched back on the railroad about a mile to some pleasant high ground, still about three quarters of a mile in advance, or west, of the position that we took up on the night of the late battle. Here we had our first chance for eleven days to take off our clothes, perform respectable toilets, and put on clean clothes once more. Several of the men were used up by our late exposure, and some cases of scurvy developed in consequence of our steady diet of salt provisions, but on the whole the regiment stood it pretty well. In order to counteract the effect of the great dampness a ration of whiskey was given to the men every morning, and did much good. In this camp, which was called Camp Lincoln, we were turned out every morning at three o'clock and stood under arms in line for half an hour, so as to be ready in case an early morning attack should be made; then the men were allowed to sit down, still with arms in their hands, for another hour, when they were dismissed. The weather now became pleasant, dry, and warm, a most agreeable change. By making beds of poles supported on stakes about two feet above the ground and pitching shelter tents also on stilts, we had very comfortable quarters, dry, sheltered, and airy. Here we managed to get a few lemons and potatoes, and with these, the latter being administered raw and mashed in vinegar, we subdued the scurvy.

Lieutenant Perry, who had come back to us after his exchange, although his health had been so completely shattered by his imprisonment that his physician forbade his return, had been obliged by fever to go into the hospital before the Battle of Fair Oaks. He now went home on leave, and never rejoined

the regiment. Lieutenants Messer and Müller were now promoted to first lieutenants, and Sergeants Hirschauer of Company B and Pousland of Company H received their commissions as second lieutenants and were respectively assigned to Companies C and D.

On the 18th the regiment was turned out under arms at half-past two in the afternoon, and stood there for about four hours, but the expected fight did not come off, although all had to sleep with their accoutrements on. On the 21st there was another alarm and some lively shooting in front, but beyond forming line there was nothing done. The men got a turn at digging forts by way of variety on the 23d, when a party from the regiment was sent to work on fortifications for a battery of sixty-four pound howitzers. Thus passed a fortnight of comparative peace in a pleasant camp, giving a rest from the twelve arduous days in and after the Battle of Fair Oaks, and fitting all for the still more severe strain of the Seven Days' Battles now to come.

On the morning of June 25, 1862, Porter's Fifth Corps was at Gaines's Mill, covering New Bridge, with two brigades of McCall's division in advance near Mechanicsville as supports to his outposts, and Stoneman's cavalry on the right watching the country between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey rivers. The remainder of the army was south of the Chickahominy, holding a line from the river running westward beyond the Williamsburg Road, the Sixth Corps on the right, the Second, Third, and Fourth corps connecting with it in the order of their naming.

General McClellan began a forward move by advancing the troops next on the left of our corps, who drove in the enemy's outposts. The fighting fell

principally on Hooker's division of the Third Corps, although the Nineteenth Massachusetts of our brigade had quite a fight with a flanking force of the enemy. Our troops held the ground won, which was within four miles of Richmond, and remained there until the change of base obliged them to abandon it three days later.

It was while this fight was going on that McClellan received information which appeared to confirm an earlier and somewhat vague report, received the day before, that Jackson was approaching from the Shenandoah Valley with the intention of turning our right flank north of the Chickahominy River. This information proved to be correct, for Jackson reached Ashland Station, twelve miles north of Richmond, that afternoon, where he was met by Stuart's brigade of cavalry, sent out from Richmond to cover his left in the proposed movement.

By the morning of June 26 the Confederate Army, which had been under command of General Robert E. Lee since Johnston's wound at Fair Oaks, was already well started on its endeavor to crush our isolated right wing under Porter and cut us off from our base of supplies at White House on York River. At this time Jackson was at Ashland Station, a dozen miles north of Richmond, which he had reached the previous night with a force consisting of ten brigades. He had here been joined by Stuart with the greater part of his brigade of cavalry, which had marched out of Richmond for the purpose at noon that day.

This movement had been planned and the arrangements carried out to this point without suspicion on our part until the previous afternoon, except for the single report of Jackson's coming from the Valley given to McClellan on the 24th by a deserter, as

already mentioned. The troops detached from Lee's army had been moved behind a curtain formed by the remainder of his army, which retained its previous station in our front practically without moving for the next three days, and until the fighting north of the Chickahominy was over, no doubt devoutly praying that our other four corps would not fall upon and overwhelm this attenuated centre and right.

The force which they left south of the Chickahominy consisted of Magruder's corps, containing six brigades, which extended from Golding's farm in front of New Bridge to the York River Railroad, beyond which point Huger held the line on the right wing, covering as far south as the Charles City Road and watching the crossings of White Oak Swamp on our extreme left flank. He had his own three brigades and also Ransom's of Holmes's division, which had reached him from Drury's Bluff at 9 A. M. on the 25th, in time to take part in the fight at Oak Grove. On the right of Huger there were two and a half regiments of cavalry left by Stuart to watch the roads between White Oak Swamp and James River. At Chaffin's Bluff, on the northeasterly side of James River, was Henry A. Wise with his brigade, who took part with the majority of his force in the later part of the Seven Days' attacks, while at Drury's Bluff, opposite, was Holmes's division.

Jackson actually began his flanking march about 9 A. M. of Thursday, June 26, moving in an easterly direction with Stuart's cavalry on his left, and A. P. Hill started across the Chickahominy with five brigades at 3 P. M. and turned directly in the direction of Mechanicsville. Our outposts made a good resistance, obliging Hill to form line of battle with

four of his brigades, holding the fifth in reserve. At this time he was joined by Branch, who was ordered in as a support to the others. Our men now fell back slowly to our selected position on the easterly bank of Beaver Dam Creek. This was a little stream, about a mile east of Mechanicsville, which ran almost directly south into the Chickahominy. Although it was only twenty or thirty feet wide, its easterly bank was very steep, so that it afforded a strong position for our men, which they had improved by some earthworks. This bank was held by Reynolds's and Seymour's brigades of McCall's division under command of the first named (afterwards killed at Gettysburg while in command of the First Corps), and here, as intended, a firm stand was made. The rebel advance was now stopped, and as fast as A. P. Hill was reënforced by his other brigades, Reynolds's force was increased by the other brigade of McCall's division commanded by Meade (afterwards commander of the Army of the Potomac), and by Martindale's and Griffin's brigades of Morell's division. A. P. Hill attacked heavily with his centre and also tried to turn our right flank, and then made a desperate assault on our left flank, but he was easily repulsed in every attack and with great loss. In this fight he used five of his brigades, keeping his sixth in reserve, but he also used Ripley's brigade of D. H. Hill's division, which had crossed Mechanicsville Bridge about 4 P. M. He thus had six brigades actually engaged against our five, but he utterly and disastrously failed in his attempt to drive back our troops. The fighting lasted until 9 P. M. While Branch was pushing on that morning to join A. P. Hill, his brigade and part of Jackson's column came by different roads within a quarter of a mile of each other, but

Jackson's men, in fulfilment of Lee's plans, soon turned off to the eastward and marched entirely beyond our right flank, passing within a mile of it during the battle, but taking no part in the fight. They bivouacked that night with Stuart at Huntley's Corner, only three miles away and well in our rear. During the evening and night, the remainder of D. H. Hill's and all of Longstreet's divisions crossed the Chickahominy at Mechanicsville Bridge. This gave Lee seventeen brigades in front of our position at Beaver Dam Creek, and eleven brigades in rear of our right flank, while we had five brigades at Beaver Dam and four brigades at Gaines's Mill.

As far as the battle of the 26th was concerned, Porter's troops had an easy victory and were in splendid condition to renew the contest the next day. But the reports from our own scouts of a large party of Confederates moving around our right flank, confirmed by the stories of natives and deserters, that Jackson was coming with fifty thousand men to overwhelm the Army of the Potomac, forced a retirement to the position at Gaines's Mill, four miles down the river. This was begun at daylight of Friday, June 27, and skilfully accomplished during the early morning, notwithstanding attacks made by the enemy during the first two hours for the purpose of obstructing this movement.

General Stoneman, with our cavalry and two regiments of infantry from Morell's division, was cut off entirely by the advance of D. H. Hill, and was obliged to retire to White House. Porter had only the nine brigades of the Fifth Corps, less these two regiments, to oppose to Lee's twenty-eight brigades, or less than one to three. He took a strong position facing nearly north on a bluff about ninety feet high, and with

both flanks resting on creeks, and with four bridges across the Chickahominy in his rear. Sykes's division held the right, Morell the left, and McCall was in reserve.

Here was fought one of the most stubborn and creditable battles of the war; and though the line was broken late in the day, it was no fault of Porter or the troops under him. During these two days Lee lost ten thousand two hundred and thirty-five in killed and wounded, and Porter four thousand two hundred and fifty-seven, with two thousand nine hundred and forty-one missing. At such cost the victory was dearly bought.

AFFAIR AT GARNETT'S AND GOLDING'S

On the morning of the 28th G. T. Anderson formed his brigade for attack, and sent forward the Seventh and Eighth Georgia in an assault, expecting support from Toombs's brigade. But it did not come, so that these two regiments suffered heavily and were promptly driven back by the Forty-ninth Pennsylvania of Hancock's brigade and the Thirty-third New York of Davidson's. These two regiments were still on picket, being the rear guard of the Sixth Corps, which was at the time moving back a short distance from its old position to the woods in rear, in order to avoid the heavy artillery fire from the new positions taken by the enemy on Gaines's Hill. The Sixth Corps held this new position for the remainder of the 28th.

In the early morning of the 28th the Fourth Corps crossed White Oak Swamp, and during the day took position covering the Charles City, Newmarket, and Quaker roads, thus extending our left towards James River.

The Fifth Corps had crossed from Gaines's Mill to the south side of the Chickahominy by early morning of the 28th, and halted in the neighborhood of Savage's Station, in rear of the Sixth and Second Corps. On the afternoon of the 28th and morning of the 29th they also moved across White Oak Swamp and took position on the left of the Fourth Corps, establishing themselves in a strong position on and beyond Malvern Hill, close to the James River, to which our trains were sent behind this line of troops.

On the morning of Saturday, the 28th, the regiment was ordered out on a working-party. There had been a great deal of heavy cannonading, especially on the right, and much moving of troops for several days, but, so far as we knew, nothing particular had happened, so the men went out under Captain Macy to the usual work, which on that day was the building of a magazine in rear of one of the principal redoubts. Suddenly an officer rode up and ordered them to stop work and collect the men. They were then marched a little to the left and took position, where they were joined by the three field officers and the rest of the line officers, who had come out from camp for that purpose. Captain Cabot and Lieutenants Mason and Curtis were too ill to leave camp, and although Lieutenant Tilden came out he was so ill that he had to be sent back. These four were sent on in ambulances to the James River and took no part in these fights.

At 10 A. M. we were ordered to dig traverses, but the ground was too swampy. Soon came wild rumors that the right was turned (evidently growing out of the insignificant attack at Golding's). The regiment remained here all day, and at night posted a guard and bivouacked on the same spot till 3 A. M.

of the next morning, but without interruption by the rebels.

The Confederate right centre, south of the Chickahominy, which consisted of Magruder's and Huger's ten brigades, could accomplish nothing against the Second and Sixth Corps, although it made constant demonstrations, and was undoubtedly well satisfied to be let alone; while Lee with his left wing, consisting of twenty-eight brigades, was cut off on the north side of the river by the destruction of the bridges, and so took the whole of the 28th in finding out McClellan's plans. For this purpose Ewell's division was sent down the left bank as far as Bottom's Bridge, while Stuart's cavalry was sent to Despatch Station, White House, and the lower bridges over the Chickahominy, in order to see if we were retreating down the peninsula by Long's or Jones's bridges and roads. Ewell started back to Grapevine Bridge on the evening of the 29th, while Stuart was occupied on his long scout until after the Battle of Malvern Hill. No other movement of Lee's wing was made on the 28th. None of these troops succeeded in bridging and crossing the Chickahominy until late on the 29th, which was after our line was extended to the James River.

These investigations by the rebel cavalry nearly caused the capture of the Twentieth's surgeon, Hayward, who was ordered away from the Turner house hospital east of Despatch Station with two hundred and fifty men on half an hour's notice. He succeeded in saving every one of his patients, although he lost everything except the clothes on his back, and he gave up his horse for the use of the wagons to carry off the wounded and sick. They reached Savage's Station that night, and the surgeon rejoined the regiment the next day.

At 3 A. M. of Sunday, June 29, the regiment fell in and moved from its bivouac, marching to the rear and down the railroad and past our old camp. All the troops had gone and the camps were entirely deserted, many tents being left behind with quantities of blankets, boxes, pots, knapsacks, etc. At the principal depot at Orchard Station was an immense amount of stores which were being rapidly destroyed; barrels of flour, sugar, coffee, whiskey, etc., were knocked in and poured into the mud: clothing was cut to pieces, ammunition was thrown into a bog near by, and a new rocket battery was then being knocked to pieces. A few cavalrymen were posted here to give warning of the enemy's approach, and a couple of guns on a slight rising ground were unlimbered, ready to check the advance of the rebels. We marched down the railroad about half a mile and came out on an open field on the north of the railroad, Allen's farm, where the Federal troops were drawn up in line of battle, faced to the west, with Richardson's First Division of our corps on the right, and our own division on the left with guns posted on rising ground.

The Twentieth was ordered to hold the line of woods on the westerly side of Allen's field, some six hundred yards in front of the rest of the troops. It was formed along the edge of the woods, near its old camp at Fair Oaks, and sent out Companies I and B as pickets. The Seventy-first Pennsylvania (First California) of our Second Brigade took position next on the right, and beyond them the Fifth New Hampshire and then the Fifty-third Pennsylvania. These four regiments formed the advanced line of our corps, and were the only troops that had any part in this fight. It seems that the Second Corps,

together with the Sixth Corps from the right, and the Third Corps from the left, had all been ordered to fall back and concentrate at Savage's Station; but owing to a misunderstanding of orders, or the reluctance of that brave old soldier Sumner to retreat from the position at Fair Oaks which he had held so long, while the other two had gone on to Savage's Station, we had remained nearly three miles west of that place and were completely isolated. This left a wide gap between our corps and the rest of our right wing open in the direction of the Trent House and Grapevine Bridge, from which Jackson was expected at any moment.

In about an hour after we had taken our position, the rebels came up, and we could hear them cheering as they came on and took possession of the deserted works and camps at Fair Oaks. They soon came nearer, and before long engaged our pickets. The picket firing was at times heavy, and then would cease, but all the time the enemy was pressing on in increasing numbers while our troops were filing off to the rear along the railroad and the Williamsburg Road. At last they brought up artillery and shelled us, and then advanced and opened heavily with musketry. Our guns replied, throwing their shells over our heads. The battle lasted about two hours, but finally ceased, as the rebels evidently waited until more of their troops should come up. We remained until all of our troops had left the open field and marched on to the rear along the railroad, when the order came quietly to draw in the pickets and march after them. This was done, and the regiment crossed the open field quickly and quietly and marched down the railroad. On the easterly edge of the field it met and passed another line of troops, a mere picket

line, left to give notice in case the enemy should follow very closely. No alarm was given, and the march of some two miles and a half to Savage's Station was continued.

This morning's fight was called the battle of "Allen's farm" or the "Peach Orchard," and was really only a skirmish of the rear guard, lasting from 9 to 11 A. M. The Twentieth lost no men, only one or two being slightly touched by pieces of shell, and but little fighting was done on our side except by the Fifty-third and Seventy-first Pennsylvania. The Confederate force was G. T. Anderson's brigade in the centre, supported on their left by Toombs's brigade, both of D. R. Jones's division of Magruder's corps. On their right, and opposed to our brigade, was Griffith's brigade of Magruder's own division, which consisted of four Mississippi regiments, three of which, the Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth, had been opposed to the Twentieth at Ball's Bluff. General Griffith was mortally wounded in this attack and was succeeded by Colonel Barksdale of the Thirteenth Mississippi. Cobb's brigade was in support of Griffith, although it was not engaged. On the south of the railroad were the remaining two brigades of Magruder's corps, Kershaw's and Semmes's. On the discovery of our first stand, at Allen's farm, Magruder sent for reënforcements from Huger's corps, which had already started down the Charles City Road on the other side of White Oak Swamp. Two brigades were immediately sent back by Huger, but did not take part in this fight.

During the morning Sumner was informed by Franklin that the rebels were repairing Grapevine Bridge and advancing in large force towards Sav-

age's Station. He accordingly retired from Allen's farm as soon as he had driven back the attacks of Magruder's troops, and took command of the forces at Savage's. As Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps had already been sent on to cross White Oak Bridge, Smith's division was the only part of that corps then remaining at Savage's. The entire Third Corps should have been there also, but Heintzelman, with this corps, started on the move to the James without notifying Sumner and contrary to his explicit orders, leaving Sumner with only his Second Corps and Smith's division of the Sixth, nine brigades in all, to hold Magruder's six brigades, which were already pressing him, Huger's two brigades coming up on their right and the entire rebel left wing of twenty-seven brigades, the head of which might appear on our right flank and rear at any moment. Fortunately for us, Jackson was delayed at Grapevine Bridge and did not get up till that evening, which spoiled that part of Magruder's plans, and Lee, before this battle opened, ordered off Huger's troops to the southward to carry out their original plan of heading us off at White Oak Bridge. The impetuous Magruder, who was stretching out his left wing to welcome Jackson, was therefore easily and thoroughly beaten on his right by part of Sedgwick's division, assisted somewhat by Brooks's brigade of the Sixth Corps. But if Heintzelman had remained, we should probably have entirely overwhelmed this corps of the rebel army, which was even more completely isolated from support than we were.

It was an intensely hot day, and the men suffered terribly on the march from Allen's, many were sunstruck, and almost all of them threw away their blankets and knapsacks. After a while we reached Sav-

age's Station, where there was an immense open field through which the railroad ran, on the southern side of which our corps was again forming in line of battle on some quite high ground. On the northern side of the railroad was a fine house, shaded by large trees, and a little in rear of it were about fifty wall tents placed in regular order, in which were a large number of sick and wounded who had been left with suitable attendants because there was no opportunity to remove them. Soon after the regiment reached this field a large number of cars filled with ammunition were set on fire and blown up. It was a grand sight — a tremendous column of smoke forced high into the air, like an immense white balloon!

When we arrived we were drawn up in line facing north toward the railroad and the large house, with our left on quite rising ground. Here we remained until four o'clock, eating our dinner in the mean time. At this time Kershaw's brigade of four South Carolina regiments and a battery appeared, stretching from the railroad across the Williamsburg Road on the westerly side of this great field, nearly a mile off, but in a direction which we had supposed was held by the Third Corps, for it was not until afterwards that we learned that Heintzelman had moved away without giving Sumner notice, leaving us exposed to this unexpected attack. Kershaw immediately opened on us with his artillery, and our two left companies, being on high ground, were much exposed and lost several wounded. Our regiment was immediately marched by the right flank to its second position facing west, where our two right companies got the position on the hill and so caught the shelling. General Burns of our division was at the same time sent forward with the Seventy-second and One Hun-

dred and Sixth Pennsylvania of his brigade, and formed line, stretching from the railroad toward the Williamsburg Road. Here he stopped the advancing infantry of Kershaw, and quite a sharp fight ensued at this point. The First Minnesota of Gorman's brigade was sent to Burns and formed across the Williamsburg Road with its left refused, but our three regiments were overlapped on our left by Kershaw's fourth regiment, the Eighth South Carolina. Our men, however, maintained their ground. Kershaw was reënforced by the Seventeenth and Twenty-first Mississippi from Barksdale's brigade, next on his left beyond the railroad, while Burns's line was relieved by the Eighty-eighth New York of Meagher's brigade of our First Division, the Eighty-second New York, and Fifteenth Massachusetts of Gorham's brigade and the Twentieth Massachusetts, which advanced through and beyond our first line and drove back the rebels and won the battle. A little fighting was done on the rebel side by Semmes's brigade, which came up with three regiments in line and three in reserve in extension of Kershaw's right flank, but were driven back by Brooks's brigade of the Sixth Corps, which had been sent to prolong our line to the left. The Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first Pennsylvania of Burns's and the Seventh Michigan of our brigade were ordered forward, but too late to participate in the fight. The same is true of the other two regiments of Barksdale's brigade, the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Mississippi. No other troops on either side were engaged in this brisk little battle, which lasted from 4 till 7 P. M.

The rebel General Huger had brought up Ransom's and Wright's brigades to the assistance of Magruder, but arrived too late for the fight at Allen's

farm. He left, in fulfilment of his original orders, before the battle of Savage's Station.

A heavy thunderstorm rolled up just as our infantry was becoming engaged in the beginning of the battle, and added much to the grandeur of the scene as it appeared in full view from our position on the hill.

After dark we were left in our position on the front line in the edge of the woods, with the Seventh Michigan on our right across the railroad, and the Fifteenth Massachusetts on our left. We sent Companies A and K, both under Captain Tremlett, out in front as pickets, and our two neighbors on the right and left did the same, while the other regiments were drawn back and started for White Oak Bridge. Soon a heavy squall came up, accompanied by a torrent of rain. Part of the field was lighted up by the remains of the still burning cars, but the wood was very dark. It was full of dead and wounded rebels, all South Carolinians, many groaning and begging for assistance. We helped as many as we could, and our pickets reported that they could hear the rebels coming out and taking them off, which shows how near we were.

At about 11 P. M. Captain Tremlett, who had been out groping about in the pitchy darkness to see where we were, and what was going on, came back and reported that our regiment and all others had gone entirely, and that he could find nothing of the Seventh Regiment pickets on our right, and yet no orders had come for us to retire. He accordingly sent out a sergeant to explore. In the mean time an order to draw in our men was quietly passed down the line, and while we were executing this delicate operation, a volley of musketry was heard from the opposite

side of the railroad. We found that the Seventh Michigan pickets had been called in, and our sergeant had been fired on by the advancing pickets of the enemy. The two companies then fell in silently and marched across the open field obliquely to the left, plowing through the deep mud, and constantly running against stumps and trees in the darkness, which was scarcely lessened by the weird light of the still burning supplies. They at last reached the Williamsburg Road, and followed it up until they came to the road leading off to the right toward White Oak Bridge; they then turned down this road and finally caught up with the regiment at about 3 A. M. of the 30th. It was a most dangerous and disagreeable duty that fell to the lot of these two companies, for they were the very last of the rear guard of the army, and were liable at any moment to be attacked and overwhelmed or cut off and captured. Our picket post in the pitch-black woods on the field of battle was gruesome in the extreme, and it was followed by a most disagreeable and fatiguing all-night march.

BATTLE OF GLENDALE

Our whole division halted at daybreak of June 30 after crossing White Oak Bridge, and at about 6 A. M. we marched on again to Glendale, where we halted on the Quaker Road in rear of McCall's division of the Fifth Corps.

The army was posted that morning in the following order from right to left: Smith's division of the Sixth Corps on the extreme right; next Richardson's division of our corps, with Naglee's brigade of the Fourth Corps joining him on his left, — all under Franklin, — defending the crossing, White Oak Bridge having been destroyed at ten o'clock

that morning by French's brigade of the rear guard. Next was Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps, guarding the crossing at Brackett's, where the bridge had also been destroyed, and stretching to the left as far as the Charles City Road. Then came Kearney of the Third Corps, covering the interval nearly to the Newmarket Road, and on his left was McCall of the Fifth Corps squarely across the Newmarket Road. Behind McCall's left flank and along the Quaker Road was Sedgwick's division of the Second Corps, and on the left in the woods in front of the Quaker Road was Hooker of the Third Corps. Next came Couch's division, supported by Wessell's brigade, both of the Fourth Corps; and on the extreme left the other two divisions of the Fifth Corps. McClellan thus had a continuous line from White Oak Swamp to Malvern Hill and James River, where the gunboats protected the left flank.

Jackson, in command of his own division and that of D. H. Hill, having finally succeeded in rebuilding Grapevine Bridge by the evening of the 29th, crossed the Chickahominy during that night, and then pushed on via Savage's Station over the route just taken by us east of White Oak Swamp, reaching White Oak Bridge about noon of the 30th, some two hours after our rear guard had crossed and destroyed the bridge.

Huger, from the Confederate right centre, having found our works in front of Fair Oaks abandoned at sunrise of the 29th, immediately started his four brigades (including Ransom's of Holmes's division) down the Charles City Road on the west side of White Oak Swamp, to take care of their right flank and head off our movement to the James River. These four brigades moved down the Charles City

Road and another road nearer White Oak Swamp, examining the fords and crossings and keeping watch over the movements of Kearney on the other side of the swamp. He, however, outwitted them and crossed the swamp while they took position on the 30th on Jackson's right, with one brigade north of White Oak Swamp, connecting with Jackson, and three brigades south.

Longstreet's division, followed by A. P. Hill's, each containing six brigades, all under command of Longstreet, crossed the Chickahominy at New Bridge on the morning of the 29th, and took the Central Road on the west side of White Oak Swamp to support Huger on his right in the endeavor to intercept our movement to the James. By forced marches they arrived at noon of the 30th in the vicinity of McCall's position. President Davis and General Lee joined this column that day to see our army cut in two and overwhelmed, for they supposed that at Gaines's Mill they had defeated the greater part of it and that it was thoroughly demoralized and could now be annihilated.

Magruder remained at Savage's Station until the arrival there of Jackson in the early morning of the 30th, when he was ordered to take the Central Road and join in the flanking movement. He, however, started so late and had so far to go that at 2 P. M. he had arrived only within four miles and a half of the field of battle, where he remained until 4.30 P. M. waiting for orders.

Holmes crossed from Drury's Bluff on the afternoon of the 27th with Daniels's brigade, and on the same evening was rejoined by Walker's large brigade recalled from Huger. With this division he reached and formed line at Newmarket at 10 A. M. of the 30th,

where he was joined by Henry A. Wise's brigade, which had just come from Chaffin's Bluff.

The Confederate plan was that Longstreet should make the principal assault on their right centre with his own six brigades, while Huger should attack on their left centre with four brigades, and Jackson should break through our rear with fourteen brigades. A. P. Hill with six brigades was to be kept fresh to throw upon our army after it should have been broken up by these combined attacks, while Magruder with six brigades should come up in support of A. P. Hill, and Holmes should be ready to fall upon us as we should retreat toward the James. These different and separated columns all reached their appointed positions by noon of the 30th, except Magruder, who was too far off to join either the main battle on their right centre or the little attempt on their extreme right.

At 1.45 P. M. Jackson, having put seven batteries in position on a hill just north of White Oak Bridge, which was concealed from our sight by woods, opened a furious cannonade from all these guns on Richardson's division of our corps, which held the centre of Franklin's force defending the crossing. Our brigade (Dana's) and Gorman's (under Sully) of our division were immediately sent from our position on the Quaker Road to support Richardson. General Dana took command of these brigades, putting Colonel Lee in command of our brigade. We hurried over in obedience to this summons, part of the time at double-quick, but after getting there were put into the rear as support to Richardson's right, and stayed there about two hours doing nothing. But Jackson found it impossible to force the crossing or to put over any troops but a few infantry, so that

this attack resulted in nothing but an artillery duel, which lasted till midnight, when our troops under Franklin resumed their march to the James River.

While Jackson was opening on the rear, Longstreet moved forward his own division of six brigades and formed them in line for his assault down the Newmarket Road. Having done this he waited for Huger. About 2 P. M. Huger's leading brigade (Mahone's) appeared in the Charles City Road in front of Slocum, but was easily driven back by our artillery, which kept up its fire until nearly dark. No infantry was engaged on either side, and our loss was very slight, although Mahone reports a severe loss.

Now turn to the third supporting attack of the Confederates, the one on their extreme right. Holmes and Wise moved forward from Newmarket about 4 P. M. on the information that our troops were retreating down the Quaker Road towards Malvern Hill. They opened fire about 5 P. M. with six guns on Warren's brigade of the Fifth Corps, but were so completely knocked to pieces by the concentrated fire of thirty guns and our infantry that they quickly ran in panic. This little affair is called the fight of Turkey Bridge or Malvern Cliff. Magruder, who had remained some distance behind Longstreet from 2 to 4.30 P. M., was then ordered to the assistance of Holmes, but was too late for any part in that fight either. Thus we see that all three of these separate attacks were easily repulsed.

GLENDALE

We will return now to the main attack, which was actually a fierce and bloody battle.

Longstreet formed his own division (now under

R. H. Anderson) as follows: Anderson's brigade (under Colonel Jenkins) across Newmarket Road, with two regiments on each side, Kemper's on the right flank with Pickett's in support, Wilcox's on the left of Jenkins and Pryor's on the left flank supported by Featherston. A. P. Hill's six brigades were in close column on the road in the rear ready for use if required, and every one of them was put in before this fiercely fought battle was over.

This attack chanced to fall principally upon McCall's division, which had had the hardest fighting of our army, having been heavily engaged at Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill. It was besides separated from the othe two divisions of its corps. In fact, not a single corps in the Army of the Potomac was consolidated on this day, and the commanding general was not on the field, so that the battle was fought without a head on our side, but simply and independently by the good judgment of corps and division commanders.

McCall sent out the First Pennsylvania of Reynolds's and Third Pennsylvania of Meade's brigade as pickets and waited the approach of the enemy. Longstreet, having formed his line, waited to hear from Jackson or Huger of their readiness to coöperate.

About 2 P. M. Huger appeared on the Charles City Road on Longstreet's left, and soon the artillery duel between him and Slocum opened, which was all that that demonstration amounted to. Longstreet, hearing these guns, began his movement by sending forward two regiments of Jenkins's brigade as skirmishers against McCall's right and left centre. They quickly drove in the First and Third Pennsylvania, the latter of whom in falling back on our

right was fired upon by our men and so broken up that it took no further part in the battle.

About three o'clock Longstreet opened with his artillery, to which we replied. This continued for an hour with no effect, as the woods hid the combatants from each other.

At four o'clock Kemper's brigade on the Confederate right flank moved forward alone through dense woods and a swamp and over very rough ground, and finally appeared on the further edge of the open field, about eighty yards in front of Seymour's left. The Twelfth Pennsylvania had thrown up a little breastwork in Whitlock's garden, and with the Tenth Pennsylvania supported the eight guns of Knieriem and Diedericks from the Reserve Artillery. To their assistance the Second and Eighth Pennsylvania had been sent from Reynolds's brigade on the first notice of this charge, and they arrived just in time. On came Kemper at double-quick, although received by a terrible storm from our infantry and our two batteries in front and from Cooper's on his left flank. But the Twelfth Pennsylvania very soon broke, and they and the greater part of these two batteries rushed pell-mell down the road. The other troops made a longer stand, but were soon driven back, and Kemper occupied McCall's left and some of his guns temporarily. But he was almost immediately driven back and the position recaptured by Burns's brigade, the only one of our division that had not been sent off to White Oak Bridge, assisted by part of Grover's brigade of Hooker's division. The principal fighting here was done by the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania of Burns's and the Sixteenth Massachusetts of Grover's brigades and by Kirby's battery of our division. Kemper's brigade

was completely broken up and scattered and took no further part in the battle.

As he was driven back, another attack was made by the rebels on their right and right centre. This force was Pickett's brigade on their extreme right, Jenkins's (R. H. Anderson's) on their left, with his left resting on Newmarket Road, and in their centre, Branch's, the first of A. P. Hill's supporting column to be sent in. Pickett appears to have got up to Seymour's old position on our left at Whitelock's and to have there captured two of Knieriem's guns, which he afterwards turned on us, but he was held there by Grover and Burns and Kirby, although they never succeeded in driving him back. Branch halted on the edge of the woods and did not advance into the open field at all. Jenkins next the road made a gallant charge in which he lost over half his men, and succeeded in capturing Cooper's battery and driving off its infantry supports, who resisted well, but finally went streaming to the rear, followed by the pursuing rebels. Most unfortunately Kerns's four guns had by this time exhausted their ammunition and had to be withdrawn, because by somebody's stupidity their caissons had previously been ordered to the rear and could not now be found. Just at this moment the heads of Dana's and Gorman's brigades, hastily summoned from White Oak Bridge, began to appear on the Quaker Road, exhausted and breathless from double-quicking most of the way in the intense heat. Without a pause the leading regiment, the Twentieth Massachusetts, which was hurrying on left in front, was faced to the "right into line" of battle by General Sumner's orders and pushed straight forward across the open field, with the gallant old Sumner at their head, through our retreat-

ing troops and under a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry by which we lost dreadfully. It was here that Lieutenant Lowell was mortally wounded. As we approached the woods we halted and dressed, and were then joined by the second regiment of our brigade, the Seventh Michigan, which now came up on our left, and we were then ordered to open fire. After a few rounds we were again ordered forward a few paces, and the operation was again repeated, only here we fired for some time. At this point the third regiment, the Forty-second New York, came up on the left of the Seventh Michigan. Then we were ordered to fire to the left obliquely and then to cease firing. Then all three regiments under command of Colonel Lee advanced through the woods in front, where they were momentarily sheltered from the fire, and came out into an open field, where the right of Seymour's original line (McCall's centre) had been. Here we found four guns of an abandoned battery, evidently the right of Cooper's, with three guns pointing to the front and one towards our left, and with dead and wounded from both armies lying thickly around. The enemy, Jenkins's brigade, fell back into and across the open field as our line advanced, but their fire was very severe for some time. The Seventh Michigan and Forty-second New York had no sooner emerged from the woods than they were obliged to shift their position on account of a flank fire, leaving the Twentieth, some two hundred and fifty men, entirely alone out in the open in front of the recaptured battery. As the three regiments had advanced further than our second line, marked by the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania on the left and the Seventy-second Pennsylvania on the right in the woods, which had been hurriedly led there by Burns to as-

sist Seymour's right, between which two regiments we had moved, there were none of our troops in the line with us either on our right or left, and behind us, as far as we knew, were only the remnants of McCall's broken regiments, whom their officers were trying to rally. We had come into a strange place at the end of a two-mile run, — as a new link in a broken line of battle, — but the two ends which we were to connect were not within sight or reach. We stayed here for twenty minutes or half an hour, delivering and receiving a heavy fire and losing many men. The pressure upon us from both flanks as well as front was so great, that Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey half-wheeled Company I on the right and Company B on the left to the rear. During this time no other troops joined us and no commands came to us, and there is good reason to suppose that our position was not known to any superior officer. The danger of capture becoming imminent in our isolated position, Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey gave the order: "About face! Forward, march!" and withdrew the regiment to the edge of the woods in our rear, and reformed the line. Here we were joined by a few, very few, brave men, — several colonels, among them Colonel Roberts of the First Pennsylvania, two or three sets of colors with a few of the best men who stayed by them, but mere handfuls, — which formed on either flank.

When our line drove Jenkins back, a second line was formed in the rear on line with, and on the left of, the Seventy-second Pennsylvania. This consisted of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania, which had been supporting Kirby's battery in front of the Quaker Road on the left of our division, and which now formed the left of this second line in the woods, where it was

joined on its right by the Nineteenth Massachusetts as they came back from White Oak Bridge; next came the Fifteenth Massachusetts; and on the right of the Seventy-second Pennsylvania were placed the Eighty-second and Thirty-fourth New York as they came up. When the Seventh Michigan and Forty-second New York retired and we were alone, the Nineteenth Massachusetts and Seventy-first Pennsylvania were thrown into the breach from the second line. As we were all in the woods, we did not know of their presence nor of that of our second line, described above, and none of them knew where we were. The First Minnesota was the last of Sedgwick's division to get back from the White Oak Bridge, and was sent in to support the Nineteenth Massachusetts and Seventy-first Pennsylvania, when those regiments were sent into the front line.

As soon as Jenkins was driven back, Wilcox and Pryor, who were about being extended to the left in order to reach Huger, were ordered to attack directly in front. Wilcox was immediately formed with two regiments on each side of the Newmarket Road, — on his left was Pryor with Featherston in support, who later came up into the front line still further to the left. They moved forward about six o'clock, and finally charged most furiously and gallantly. The Eighth Alabama, Wilcox's regiment, next to the road and on their left of it, kept on, made a magnificent and desperate charge in solid mass, and captured Randol's battery, driving off the Fourth Pennsylvania that supported it. The Ninth and Tenth Alabama on Wilcox's right charged up in front of our position a few moments later and took Cooper's guns, which we had been obliged to abandon from want of support, and could not withdraw because the horses

had been killed. These guns they turned on us, but could advance no further. Our division held the positions designated above until midnight without yielding a foot of ground, but we received and delivered a most severe and murderous fire for an hour and a half. Our muskets got so heated from the rapid firing that the men could be seen setting their ramrods against trees in order to force their charges into the heated barrels. Finally about sunset the rebel troops in front of us were withdrawn and the battle ceased on our part of the line.

Featherston came up on Pryor's left, but he was soon wounded and his brigade driven back. His place was then taken by Gregg of A. P. Hill's division, who extended so far to the left that only his right regiment, the Fourteenth South Carolina, had any fighting. In the mean time, Wilcox's Ninth and Tenth Alabama had been driven back by our division, and his force north of the road soon followed, in both places abandoning the captured batteries. Pryor held on longer, but was unable to break our line, and was terribly punished by Thompson's battery and Robinson's brigade, supported by two regiments of Berry's division, and was finally repulsed also.

All six of Longstreet's brigades had now been put in, and all had been driven back except Pickett, who still held his captured position on their extreme right. In addition, Branch, of A. P. Hill's division, had been used up while Gregg was guarding their left flank. Only four brigades of A. P. Hill's division were left of that force which had so confidently proposed to cut in two our army and capture the greater part of it.

It was already evening when Field's brigade was formed for the final assault. He also placed two regiments on each side of the road, the Fifty-fifth and

Sixtieth Virginia on the south, and the Forty-seventh Virginia and Second Virginia battalion on the north, having previously sent the Fortieth Virginia to protect Pickett's right flank. Archer was also sent to support Pickett, but did nothing there. Field was supported by J. R. Anderson on the left and Pender on the right. It was so dark that friends could not be distinguished from foes, and neither side could tell who was in front of them nor what was being done, and consequently the reports, confused at the time, cannot be clearly unravelled now. Field's probably was the force that finally drew off both Randol's and Cooper's guns, but he never got beyond those positions, although he was able to hold them. His fighting, however, was to the right of the position held by the Twentieth. To Field's Forty-seventh Virginia belongs the credit of capturing General McCall when he was making a final effort in the darkness to gather a force for another fight for Randol's guns. J. R. Anderson was badly broken up by the fire of what apparently was Barlow's Sixty-first New York, and "laid down" and did nothing more. Pender does not seem to have advanced very far, and did not actually get into the fight. He probably halted in the woods in front of our regiment and out of our sight.

In this part of the battle Robinson's brigade was heavily engaged (less one regiment), assisted by three brigades of Berry's division, also by Taylor's brigade of Slocum's division, and by the two regiments of Caldwell's brigade of our corps (his other two regiments firing only one volley).

The Confederate attempts to break through our columns had been completely foiled, most disastrously for them; and at midnight our troops drew

out from their positions and continued the interrupted march down the Quaker Road.

BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL

About 4 A. M. of July 1 the Twentieth reached its new position on Malvern Hill, where the reunited Army of the Potomac was forming for the last of its battles in this short campaign. It was a magnificent sight that met the eyes as it grew light. The regiment was in a beautiful clover-field near a house on this elevated plateau overlooking an immense open tract of country, broken by hills and some fine pieces of woodland, and with several good houses in sight. Our troops were in full view, gradually taking up their positions on the edge of the hill, while looking to the north beyond a near ravine was another open place bounded by dense forests. As soon as the regiment arrived, bedraggled and exhausted, rations were supplied by its ever-watchful and devoted quartermaster, who had in fact started back to Glendale the preceding day for this purpose, but had been refused permission. Here the men got some much needed rest, staying in this spot about five hours, during the latter part of which time black masses of the enemy could be distinctly seen emerging from the woods and taking position in the open ground beyond the ravine, in support of several batteries which advanced and opened fire. This must have been Whiting's division of Jackson's corps.

On the previous evening Magruder's corps had been recalled to Glendale by Lee to relieve Longstreet and A. P. Hill, arriving after the close of the battle. He moved forward on the morning of July 1 up the Newmarket Road to the positions which we had abandoned at midnight, and continuing on

soon met Whiting's division, the head of Jackson's force, marching down the Quaker Road from White Oak Bridge. Magruder halted and Whiting kept on in column, with a regiment of Texas cavalry at his head, until they came within range of one of our batteries on Malvern Hill, which immediately opened, and with its first discharge scattered the cavalry regiment. Whiting then formed line of battle on the left (east) of the road, while the next division, D. H. Hill's, formed on the right (west), and Stafford's brigade of Ewell's division was in full view as it crossed from the Quaker Road to the woods, and his left brigade was roughly handled, while its commander, General G. B. Anderson, was wounded, by our artillery alone.

After D. H. Hill's division was formed on the west of the Quaker Road, Armistead's and Wright's brigades of Huger's division moved up from the Charles City Road and formed on Hill's right. Then Magruder began to arrive by a road west of the Quaker Road, and formed his division and Huger's other two brigades, a portion still further on the right of D. H. Hill and the rest in support of them. Holmes came down the river road from Newmarket to the extreme right of the Confederates, but with him "discretion was the better part of valor," for a reconnoissance of our strong position, with a recollection of his misfortune on the day before, satisfied him that he could not take it, so he restrained his ardor and saved himself another disaster. Longstreet and A. P. Hill had had a very full meal of fighting at Glendale, and were not inclined or expected to make any further exertion in this battle, so they contentedly kept quiet in reserve behind Jackson, entirely out of sight and sound for this entire day.

About 9 A. M. Whiting's first battery got into position and opened on our line, but was almost immediately "knocked out," and forced to retire. He soon got up three other batteries which fired until their ammunition was exhausted. The Twentieth received part of the fire of these batteries, some of their shell falling very close, but nobody was hit, although some of its neighbors had harder luck. Our position was changed several times in order to protect the men from this galling artillery fire, and finally, as we had nothing to do, the whole corps was moved behind a hill into the woods for shelter. As the rebel line of battle across the Quaker Road began to look threatening in the early afternoon, we were ordered out again from the woods to our former position, but Whiting's infantry made no advance, so we were soon sent back again. In fact, with the exception of artillery firing, nothing was done by the rebels on the east side of the Quaker Road, although some of the troops in their second line were afterwards sent to D. H. Hill's assistance, but failed to reach him in time for the fight.

In the mean time Magruder had formed his own and Huger's divisions on the right of D. H. Hill. Armistead in the centre was expected to lead the assault with a yell which was to be the signal for the others to join in the charge. About three o'clock D. H. Hill heard what he thought was the agreed upon yell, and moved forward, but he went alone. He made a gallant charge, but was driven back with terrible slaughter by Morell and Couch, and the concentrated artillery fire. It was about 4.30 P. M. that Armistead and Wright made the second charge, which was directed to the right of Hill's point of attack, followed later by the remaining brigades of

Huger and Magruder. Their assaults were gallant and desperate, but made absolutely no impression on the lines held by Morell and Couch, to whose support were sent first Caldwell's brigade of our first division, then Sickles's of Hooker's division, and later Meagher's, also of our first division. Two of Sykes's brigades were moved to the right to the support of Morell, but did not get into the action.

Fifteen brigades of the enemy took part in these daring assaults, but they were absolutely foiled in their attempts, and driven back in the greatest disorder and demoralization from our magnificent position, which was held by only nine brigades, assisted, however, by an unusually heavy support of artillery The battle lasted until nine in the evening, and left us in undisturbed possession of our original line.

Thus ended the "Seven Days." They began with McClellan's long promised advance, which carried him to within four miles of Richmond, but which was nipped in the bud and warded off by the bold and skilful flank attack on the Fifth Corps, which threw McClellan on the defensive. He in turn deceived Lee and upset his plans by making a sudden change of base and transferring his army to a strongly defended position.

The Twentieth remained where it was after the battle and slept quietly until about two o'clock of the following morning, when it again started, and marched about ten miles down the river in a heavy rainstorm, and encamped twelve hours later with the rest of the army at Harrison's Landing.

The Seven Days' Battles were now ended, in which the Union Army lost 1734 killed, 8062 wounded, and 6053 missing, making a total of 15,849. The Con-

federates were the greater sufferers; killed, 3478, wounded, 16,261, and prisoners 875, total 20,614.

The casualties of the Twentieth were as follows:

FIELD AND STAFF. Wounded: Colonel William R. Lee; Lieutenant-Colonel Francis W Palfrey.

BAND. Killed: George S. Reiser.

COMPANY A. Wounded: Sergeant James Ford; Privates Alfred L. Bishop, George F. Cate, Daniel C. Lane, James H. Noble, William Ryder.

COMPANY B. Wounded: Sergeant Balthazar Wagner; Corporal Christian Buettinger; Privates Christian Wagner, Charles Arnold, Joseph Pabst, Julius Boehune, William Frank, Charles Haas, John Hanifer, Gustave Kawell, Frederick Kleeberg, Conrad Seibel. Captured: Privates Adolph Asher, Philip Gilbert.

COMPANY C. Killed: Sergeant Joseph Wolf. Wounded: Privates Werner Hahn, Gotfried Spicer, Henry Vogel.

COMPANY D. Wounded: Captain Norwood P. Hallowell; Corporal Charles J. Curtis; Privates John J. O'Connell, Richard Duffin. Missing: Privates Alexander McKinley, Francis A. Wheeler.

COMPANY E. Killed: First Lieutenant James J. Lowell; Privates Edward C. Gleason, John McGowan. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Henry L. Patten; Privates Joseph F. Bent, John McIntire, John W G. Smith.

COMPANY F. Wounded: First Lieutenant August Müller; Sergeant Bernard McGuire; Corporal John Powers; Privates James DeForrest, Patrick McCarty.

COMPANY G. Killed: Private David Root. Wounded: Sergeant Thomas M. McKay; Corporals Fred S. Allen, William A. Johnston; Privates William Casey, Ezra D. Chace, John Goodman, George Lawson, James Madigan; Drummer Joseph Lovejoy. Captured: Private Hiram Whiting.

COMPANY H. Killed: Privates Robert Grieve, James Lynch. Wounded: Privates Josiah Armington, George Babcock,

John C. Ford, Samuel H. Gordon, John R. Johnson, Neal McCafferty, James McKenna, Cornelius Monahan, John M. Stearns; Drummer John Stevens. Missing: Sergeant George White; Private George H. Carroll.

COMPANY I. Killed: Privates Richard Brooks, Jared M. Hunter. Wounded: First Lieutenant Henry L. Abbott; Sergeant Andrew J. Bate; Corporals E. G. W. Cartwright, John W. Summerhays; Privates John Daisy, Charles F. Goodwin, James A. Bucknam, Francis McNamara.

COMPANY K. Killed: First Sergeant Alfred L. Holmes; Sergeant Theodore Compass; Corporal Isaac M. Sampson; Private Patrick Cronan. Wounded: Sergeant Patrick J. Campion; Privates Charles W. Bartlett, James W. Bryant, George A. Hastings, John Hinds, George W Kehr, Chester A. Leonard, Joseph H. Parker, Samuel Tucker. Missing: Private Lansford Bowman.

CHAPTER VI

FROM HARRISON'S LANDING TO THE ANTIETAM

THE first camping-place of the Twentieth at Harrison's Landing was close to the river, where it remained in the rain and mud, suffering greatly, until the Fourth of July. The stragglers gradually joined, and there were soon about three hundred men with the colors and (perhaps) ten company officers. Companies E and G were temporarily consolidated, and Company I was joined with the part of Company D that was present, the remainder of this company, about twenty men, having for months been detailed under Lieutenant Messer as a special guard for the balloon at the corps headquarters, where they had had no fighting.

From the 4th to the 11th of July the heat was intense, but the camp was very pleasantly situated on high land with a sandy soil, having a little brook close by and a large pond for bathing within a short distance; and as the officers had the luxury of wall tents, while onions, lemons, and other anti-scorbutics were plenty, we got along very well and with little sickness. Heavy fortifications were thrown up, and all settled down for an apparently long stay.

As a new call for three hundred thousand men had been made by the President, General Dana recommended to Governor Andrew both Major Revere and Adjutant Peirson as "eminently fitted by experience and capacity for the command of a regi-

ment." His letter was endorsed "very favorably" by Generals Sedgwick, Sumner, and McClellan. On the 8th of July President Lincoln visited the camp, and General Sedgwick held an inspection of the division the following afternoon. On the 11th the Twentieth had its first dress parade for many weeks. On the 17th Lieutenant Messer and the detail from Company D for balloon guard rejoined the colors. General Sumner held a grand review of the corps on the 22d. In fact, after the men had gotten thoroughly rested from the hard campaign, the army settled down to a regular course of drills, parades, reviews, etc.

Colonel Lee, being still too weak to return to active duty, was detailed on July 25 to assist Governor Andrew in recruiting, and was put in command of Camp John E. Wool at Worcester. Adjutant Peirson was relieved at his own request from General Sedgwick's staff and returned to his old position in the regiment, being succeeded by Lieutenant Charles A. Whittier, whom he had recommended.

On the night of July 31 the Confederate Generals French and Pendleton placed forty-one guns in position on the opposite side of the river, and at one o'clock on the following morning shelled the camp vigorously, but were driven back before daybreak.

A batch of thirty recruits reached the regiment just at evening on the 2d of August, being the first arrivals in response to the recent call, and they were followed by many other squads during the next three months. They were all volunteers and in most cases good steady reliable men who quickly amalgamated with those of '61. The earlier soldiers were those who had most quickly felt the enthusiasm of the

period or had slighter ties at home, while those of '62 were the more serious who finally yielded to the call of patriotism in spite of the strong reasons which had hitherto restrained them. Among them were such men as Francis V. Balch, who in later years became one of Boston's most honored and trusted lawyers. With a slight and very delicate physique, but with a heart full of unselfish patriotism, this noble but modest man, thinking himself unfit for a commission such as so many of his juniors in college seniority were gracing, enlisted from a pure sense of duty as a private under his friends in the Twentieth, with whom he now refused to associate from his appreciation of the respect due from an enlisted man to an officer. But his frail body was too weak for the duty imposed by the noble soul, and he was obliged to fall out on one of his first marches down the peninsula, and was finally discharged before the end of the war.

At 2 P. M. on August 4 we were suddenly ordered to get ready and move at six o'clock. At that time the division began the march, but as the Twentieth was the last regiment, it did not start until seven o'clock. Then it kept up a steady tramp with hardly a halt until three in the morning, when it drew up in an open field, lay down, and slept about two hours. We had first gone north on the Charles City Road, but had then turned westerly. We started again at five o'clock, and while marching could hear guns firing on the left. We finally came out on the main road to Richmond close to our old battlefield of Nelson's farm, when we turned again to the left, and approached Malvern Hill from the north, having marched almost entirely around it. Artillery firing was then heard, and the regiment soon reached Mal-

vern Hill, where it found that the enemy's advanced force had been scattered after very slight resistance by the troops ahead under Hooker, who were then pursuing them. The regiment remained on the hill all that day and through the next morning, the men making themselves as comfortable as possible in the intense heat by stretching their rubber blankets on stakes above their heads for shade. In the afternoon we marched to the front and joined Gorman's brigade in the extreme advance. Here Quartermaster Folsom brought up from Harrison's Landing a wagon-load of fresh bread and another load of cooked meat, coffee, etc., which were enthusiastically received. That evening the whole regiment went on picket, forming the right of the Second Corps picket line. A squad of cavalry was posted at a barn on a hill in front of us. It was bright moonlight, and the country was very open. About ten o'clock our vidette gave an alarm, and although no cause for trepidation could be seen, the pickets next on the right came running back calling out "Retreat!" They were from a new regiment just added to Carr's brigade of Hooker's division. Extra sentinels were then posted on our exposed right flank, and three hours elapsed before their pickets were put back. About 2 A. M. of the 7th we received our orders to fall back, and marching to the Malvern Hill Road, joined the retiring column behind Gorman's brigade, with our rear covered by cavalry, arriving safely in camp about six o'clock, glad enough to get home again to rest and comparative comfort.

On the 8th the regiment was paid off, and the following day Lieutenant Abbott returned from his Glendale wound, and Lieutenants Curtis and Wilkins from sick leaves. On the 11th Major Revere and

Captain Tremlett went home, followed on the 15th by Adjutant Peirson and Captain Cabot, all on sick leave. On Adjutant Peirson's recovery from his serious illness, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of a new regiment, the Thirty-ninth Massachusetts, to which Tremlett was commissioned major. Thus the Twentieth lost two most prominent and excellent officers. Many of the men returned about this time from the hospitals and also several from captivity in Richmond.

General Lee having sent Jackson to the north with the object of transferring the seat of war away from Richmond, General McClellan was ordered on the 4th of August to withdraw from the peninsula and send his army by transports up the Potomac to meet the threatened invasion. The Twentieth started at eight in the morning of the 16th, and marched about six miles to Charles City Court House, where it encamped for the night. On Sunday, the 17th, we had a very dusty tiresome march from seven in the morning until half-past ten at night, covering only sixteen miles, and carrying us to the mouth of the Chickahominy. The following morning we started again at half-past five and crossed the river on a pontoon bridge at Barrett's Ferry, and stopped on the opposite bank long enough to get a most refreshing bath in the James, moving on again at eleven in the forenoon, and marching five miles to our camp for the night. At seven on the morning of the 19th we fell in and marched to Williamsburg, a fine old town with many beautiful houses and the large handsome buildings of William and Mary's College. After an hour's rest here, we marched through and four miles beyond the city and halted for the night near Fort Magruder. Another early

start was made on the 20th at six o'clock, and that day we reached Yorktown, camping on the north side of the town, where we had a delicious bath in the York River. Starting from there at six on the following morning, we marched to Big Bethel, about fifteen miles, in the heat of the day. The 22d we fell in at four and made eight miles in a hard rain, reaching Newport News. Here we enjoyed a fine camp for three days with sea-baths to remind us of home luxuries.

At five o'clock on the afternoon of the 25th the regiment embarked on the old Collins steamer Atlantic, and enjoyed a fine sail up Chesapeake Bay in pleasant weather, arriving at Acquia Creek about three on the afternoon of the 27th. Here we stopped for orders and actually began to disembark, but were soon sent on to Alexandria, before which we dropped anchor about ten the next morning.

After staying aboard the steamer all the morning, we finally disembarked about three, and marched through Alexandria to Cloud's Mills, about three miles and a half out on the Little River Turnpike towards Fairfax Court House, where we encamped on a beautiful slope, with many regiments of the division near.

In the morning of the 29th we received orders to march at nine o'clock, but they were soon countermanded. Here we received about seventy-five recruits, but as they were unarmed, we had to send them back to Washington when we marched. Finally at 5 P. M. we were started off for Fort Ethan Allen, which protected Chain Bridge, where the turnpike from Leesburg crosses the Potomac above Washington. We marched about twelve miles, keeping it up until after midnight, and bivouacked at

12.30 A. M. on the road. Starting again at 5.30, we marched about five miles to the fort, and thence moved about a mile northwest and went into camp just outside of Fort Marcy at 1.30 P. M. Later at 5 P. M. we crossed the Potomac by Chain Bridge about six miles to the fort northwest of Washington, where we bivouacked. We had been hearing heavy cannonading all day in the direction of Centreville, and knew that a great battle was going on.

At 3 A. M. of the 31st we marched into and through Georgetown, over Aqueduct Bridge and out on the Centreville Road to within five miles of Fairfax Court House. Here we halted at 12.30 on that afternoon, starting again at 8 P. M. and reaching the Court House at midnight, where we bivouacked with Companies I and K advanced as pickets because a body of Confederate cavalry had appeared in rear of our main army. This was a hard day for the regiment — twenty-one hours in marching twenty-five miles — especially as it was raining hard; but as there were several long halts and the march was well conducted, all went fairly well, although the men were much fatigued. Lieutenant Mason rejoined the colors here from his sick leave and also Lieutenant Patten, who had just recovered from his Glendale wound.

We had now come up with the army under Pope, which different portions of McClellan's troops had successively joined during the past few days. Early on the 29th Pope had attacked Jackson furiously, putting in as much of his force as he could call up, for he hoped to overwhelm his audacious opponent before Longstreet should appear. The gallant and determined assaults were repelled by Jackson, although after great loss and with great difficulty. On the

arrival of McDowell in the afternoon, Pope attacked again, but Longstreet had arrived in the morning and took part in driving back this second attack. Porter, sent by Pope to turn Jackson's right flank, found Longstreet in greatly superior numbers, and held him there without engaging him.

On the afternoon of the 30th Pope again assaulted the enemy's right flank, Jackson, but was driven back by him with the assistance of Longstreet's artillery. Then Longstreet attacked our left with overwhelming numbers, while Jackson advanced at the same time. The Federal Army was driven back, but Porter's Regulars held the Henry House Hill that covered the stone bridge so that our troops were able to fall back across Bull Run that night. It was the sound of this fierce battle, Second Manassas, that the Twentieth heard in its rear as it was marching across the northern side of the Potomac.

During the 31st Pope's army remained at Centreville, getting up supplies and ammunition while the Twentieth was making its forced march up to Fairfax Court House, about eight miles to the westward or rear of this position. Longstreet remained on the battlefield all that day, while Jackson marched to turn our right flank, reaching Little River Turnpike that evening.

At 7 A. M. of September 1 our brigade with two batteries was sent forward again a couple of miles and reported to Colonel Torbert, commanding the First Brigade of Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps, when we took position in front of Germantown at the junction of the Centreville and Little River turnpikes, where we remained all day. The Twentieth and another regiment were put out on picket, where at about nine o'clock they were attacked by

some cavalry skirmishers who exchanged a few shots and then retired. Only one man of the force was wounded, Andrew Beska of the Twentieth's Company C. It appears that a large body of cavalry had got in between us and the main body of the army at Centreville, and that Hooker had attacked them and driven them off. We formed part of his second line and were posted in a hastily built breastwork. About dark, during a very heavy thunderstorm, the fierce little battle of Chantilly was fought a short distance in front, between Stonewall Jackson and Stevens, Kearny, Reno, and part of McDowell's corps. Jackson was stopped here in his new flanking movement, but at the expense of the lives of two most gallant and excellent officers, Generals Kearny and Stevens.

We remained here on the 2d, still separated from the division and under the command of Hooker, while the army fell back and left us the extreme infantry advance. Casey and Slocum formed line of battle behind us, and the cavalry took position a little in front of us. Finally about five in the afternoon we fell back and halted to allow all the troops to pass; thus our brigade covered the retreat. The enemy pressed us, but a section of horse artillery was ordered to the rear and kept them back. The Twentieth finally reached Alexandria at one in the morning of the 3d, where Colonel Leeand Major Revere rejoined it. Colonel Lee now succeeded to the command of our brigade, relieving Colonel Hincks of the Nineteenth Massachusetts. On the 4th Major Revere accepted the position of inspector-general on Sumner's staff with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which, as he then supposed, permanently took him far away from the Twentieth.

On September 2 General McClellan was placed in command of the fortifications of Washington and of all troops for the defence of the Capital. Consequently, when Pope and his army retreated to the forts defending the city, he came under McClellan's command. He therefore asked to be relieved, which was done on the 5th, and the armies of the Potomac and Virginia were then officially consolidated and given to McClellan, to whom was entrusted the new and defensive campaign against Lee.

McClellan, in the mean time, had been receiving the troops as they reached the fortifications and had disposed them where they would be most effective. On September 4 the reveille was sounded at 3 A. M., and the Twentieth marched at five o'clock to join its corps, crossing the Chain Bridge and keeping on to Tenallytown, north of Washington, where it bivouacked twelve hours later.

On the 3d General Lee suggested to President Davis an invasion of Maryland and possibly Pennsylvania. In a short campaign of seventy days since June 25 he had apparently forced the Army of the Potomac from a point within four miles of Richmond to one fully thirty miles away — thoroughly beaten and demoralized, as he had reason to flatter himself. He had then turned against the Army of Virginia, which he had turned inside out and upside down, even after it had received considerable reinforcement from the Army of the Potomac, and he had finally driven both armies into the defences at Washington. This city he was not strong enough to attack, and in fact he never had any intention of so doing. But he had practically freed Virginia, he had recovered her fertile fields at the time that the harvest was about ripening, and with her territory

he had recovered many prospective recruits and conscripts. What should he do next? Could not he free "My Maryland" and obtain more fertile fields and more possible recruits? Perhaps he could go further and "carry the war into the enemy's country" by invading Pennsylvania. To be sure, the army was short of clothing and shoes, of ammunition and transportation, but Lee could not now afford to be idle and must keep up the aggressive campaign which he had so auspiciously begun. Even if he did not entirely succeed in his invasion, he could at least keep the Federal forces occupied at a distance from Richmond for some time, and probably till cold weather should put an end to all military movements.

Such were the reasons for the invasion that Lee gave to Davis, and they were approved. On the 4th of September D. H. Hill in advance crossed the Potomac in the vicinity of Leesburg, followed during the next three days by the rest of Lee's army, who immediately concentrated on the 7th in the neighborhood of Frederick City. The invasion of Maryland was now begun.

McClellan, who was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm and whose presence put new life and vigor into the army, reorganized his forces while on the march. On the very day of assuming command he pushed forward to Leesburg, Maryland, his new right wing under command of Burnside, who had the First Corps, now under Hooker, and the Ninth Corps, under Reno, to which Cox's Kanawha division was attached. This wing then advanced by different roads to Frederick City, which their advance reached on the 12th.

At 3.45 P. M. of the 5th the Twentieth left Ten-

allytown and marched up the Georgetown Road to within a mile of Rockville, where it bivouacked. It started again the next morning at nine o'clock, but moved to only a mile beyond Rockville, where it drew up in line of battle in support of some batteries and sent out pickets. The regiment had heard of the invasion, and quite expected a battle, as the rebel pickets were reported to be at Darnestown, a few miles west. Colonel Palfrey, who had gone on the 4th from our camp at Tenallytown to Washington on regimental business, and had hurried out after us when he had heard of our march, and had just caught up to us, gives the following spirited picture of the contrast between the appearance of the city and the army hurrying forward to meet the enemy :

"Nothing could have been more peaceful than the appearance of Washington as I left it on a lovely afternoon. The signs of war were always plenty there of course, but there was absolutely nothing to indicate the neighborhood of an enemy. Every one seemed to be absorbed in the pursuits of peaceful business and secure pleasure as if the blast of war had not been heard in the land. On foot, on horseback, in carriages, every one seemed to be out of doors, and enjoying, whether working or playing, the perfect close of a perfect day. I had not ridden many miles when I met a squad of prisoners, and learned that they had been taken that morning in a skirmish on the Maryland side of the Potomac. So Lee, or some of Lee's men, had invaded a loyal state, and there was every prospect that there would soon be wigs on the green. Proceeding a few miles farther, I found the regiment, part of a line sleeping on its arms in order of battle, and supporting some batteries, of which the guns were unlimbered, with the gunners lying at the trails of the pieces. The report was that Jackson, with a largely superior force, was close at hand, and apparently proposing to attack in the morning. It was a dramatic changing of scene, from the comfort and care-

less gayety of Washington to a starlit bivouac, with every preparation made for meeting an impending attack.

"Washington and its environments presented singular sights in the early days of September, 1862. The luxury and refinements of peace contrasted sharply with the privations and squalor of war. There are few prettier suburban drives than those in the neighborhood of Washington, and no weather is more delightful than that of late summer there, when a cooler air comes with the shortening days. As the shadows lengthen in the golden afternoon, well-appointed carriages rolled along those charming drives, bearing fair women in cool and fresh costumes, and by their side the ragged, dusty sunburnt regiments from the Peninsula trudged along. Rest, cleanliness, ice, food, drink, every indulgence of civilized life within reach of hand, but our hands could not be stretched out to grasp them. Military discipline was the dragon that guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides. They were so near and yet so far. The mythic Tantalus must have been present to the minds of many of those who then marched by the road which leads from Washington to the Chain Bridge. The carriages returned to their stables, the fair ladies returned to the enjoyment of every pleasure that Washington could confer, but the Army of the Potomac moved steadily northward, to bivouac under the stars or the clouds, and to march again in its tatters through the dust and the sunshine, through the rain and the mud. Fortunately we had by this time become soldiers in something more than the name; we had learned to make much out of little, we were cheered by the more wholesome air and the more variegated country, we were glad to get out of the wilderness of the Peninsula. It was pleasant, too, to be once more in a country that was at least nominally friendly. Whatever the real feelings of the Marylanders might be, the stars and stripes might often be seen in other places than above the heads of the color guards. Whether the natives sold to us gladly or not, they had much to sell, and that in itself was a most agreeable novelty to us. In the Peninsula, the country afforded us nothing, and the change from the land where our meat was fat pork, or odious beef served quivering from an animal heated by the long day's march and killed as soon as the day's march was ended, to a land where

fresh vegetables and poultry were not rare, was very cheering. Money was not scarce. The pay of the army was liberal, and we had had no chance to spend money on the Peninsula. So our march was pleasant. Wood and water were easy to find, instead of requiring weary searches at the end of a weary day. We no longer had to send the pioneers to search for stakes, and then to fit them toilsomely in the hard, bare earth with their picks, before we could unsaddle and let our horses' bridles go. The foragers found forage for the poor beasts in abundance, and the little tins in which we had learned to cook so cleverly had often something in them better than the hard bread, water, salt, pepper, and ration meat."

In this same spot near Rockville we remained several days in a most healthful and healthy camp named by General Sumner Camp Defiance. Our baggage was sent here on the 8th, and it really looked as if we were settling down for a long stay. But on the 10th the regiment started off again and marched about eight miles to Middlebrook, on the road to Frederick City.

On the 7th Captain Macy and Sergeants Kelly and Robinson were sent back from Rockville to Washington to arm and bring out all the recruits. They procured arms for about eighty-eight of them the next day, and started them off to the regiment, which had meantime moved on, but which they overtook at Middlebrook on the 10th.

September 11 another easy march of ten miles was made in the same direction, passing through Clarksburg to Hyattstown, where we encamped, and the entire regiment went on picket in a rainstorm. On the next day, which was damp and rainy, we started at ten in the morning and made six miles, bivouacking at the little town of Urbana. After reveille at 3.15 A. M. of the 13th, we started at 5.30, crossed the

Monocacy, and in the afternoon marched through Frederick City, and pitched camp one mile beyond.

None will ever forget the hearty welcome given to our army of rescue by the inhabitants of Frederick City. As we marched as if in review through the quaint town, we were greeted with the incessant applause of the men and the smiles of gratitude and joy on the fair faces of the women, with waving of handkerchiefs and flags. This warm and cordial reception to the army by the inhabitants, just delivered from the inroad of Lee's ragged and dirty soldiers, was most refreshing to us, and its charm was heightened by the beauty which nature had so lavishly bestowed on this rich valley, shut in by beautiful mountains, and with its luxuriant vegetation now in perfection. Most intense was the contrast with the low ground, the swamps, and thickets of Virginia, made more desolate by the armies, and above all by the scowls of the natives, whose faces were wrinkled with spite as the "invaders" passed.

On this march from Rockville to Frederick City the Twelfth Corps under Williams moved by roads on our right, thus connecting us with the right wing of our army under Burnside. The Sixth Corps under Franklin was on our left, with Couch's division of the Fourth beyond them and next the Potomac; while Sykes's division of the Fifth Corps, which had left Washington on the 6th of the month, followed us to Frederick City.

On the night of September 13, Reno's Ninth Corps had reached Middletown, the First, Twelfth, and Second Corps and Sykes's division of the Fifth were in the neighborhood of Frederick City, while Franklin's Sixth Corps was at Buckeystown and Couch's division at Licksville.

In the mean time General Lee had concentrated his army at Frederick City on the 7th, where he remained three days. While there he issued on the 8th a proclamation inviting Maryland to join the Southern Confederacy. On the same day he suggested to President Davis that the present position of affairs made a suitable occasion for them to propose to the United States the recognition of the Confederacy.

As this occupation of Frederick City by Lee did not cause the evacuation of Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry by the Federal troops, as he had expected and desired in order to have the door into the Shenandoah Valley left open for his retreat, he sent Jackson on the 10th by a long detour through Williamsport to recross the Potomac, capture Martinsburg, and invest Harper's Ferry on the southwest. He sent McLaws with his own and R. H. Anderson's divisions to seize Maryland Heights, on the opposite side of the Potomac, but completely commanding Harper's Ferry from the north. He sent Walker to take possession of Loudoun Heights and complete the investment on the southeast side. These movements were successful; Martinsburg was evacuated, while Harper's Ferry was surrendered, with twelve thousand men and large supplies, on the morning of the 15th.

General Lee, when these detachments left him on the 10th, moved with the rest of his army across the South Mountain to Boonsborough, and then kept on to Hagerstown in order to secure some flour and other stores reported to be there. He left Stuart, however, on the east side to observe the Federal Army and retard its advance, which he did most stubbornly.

About six o'clock on the evening of the 13th, McClellan came into possession of a copy of Lee's

circular order of the 9th to his subordinates, which gave instructions for the movements of all parts of his army, described above as begun on the 10th. This put an end to all uncertainty as to Lee's plans; there was now no necessity for McClellan to hold his army in hand for a move in any possible direction.

Early on the 14th Pleasanton with the cavalry came up with the enemy holding Turner's Gap. These were two brigades of D. H. Hill and Rosser's brigade of cavalry reinforced early on the 14th by three more of D. H. Hill's brigades. About 8 A. M. Cox's division of Reno's Ninth Corps carried the first crest; the other divisions were put in as they came up during the morning, and succeeded in driving back the enemy from one position after another, although with the loss of the gallant Reno. In the afternoon Hooker's First Corps (formerly the Third Corps of the Army of Virginia) was brought up to the assistance of Reno's troops, while Longstreet, who had just arrived, after a forced march of twelve miles from Hagerstown, put in eight brigades on the other side; but the Confederates were forced back, and we finally carried the pass sometime after dark. Part of our division then relieved Gibbon's brigade of the First Corps.

The Twentieth Massachusetts started from Frederick City on the morning of the 14th, leaving behind Lieutenants Abbott, Murphy, and R. S. Beckwith, who were ill, consequently missing the battle of the 17th. Captain Macy was also absent, having been sent back again to Washington early that morning to bring up recruits. Late in the evening the regiment came up to within two miles of the position at which the Confederates had made their final stand, and here bivouacked for the night in the line of reserves. It took no part in the actual fighting of this day.

The left wing of the army under Franklin moved forward that morning to Crampton's Gap, which had been up to that time unguarded by the rebels. But in the afternoon of his arrival he found it occupied by a force which proved to consist of three brigades under Howell Cobb and some cavalry. The Sixth Corps, after skirmishing for three hours, finally made a gallant charge that drove the Confederates entirely through the pass with great loss.

This movement of Franklin's wing created the greatest anxiety in McLaws's force, which was besieging Harper's Ferry from Maryland Heights, for it brought the Federal troops within five miles of their rear. Franklin knew the exact situation of affairs from McClellan's order of the previous evening, which fully explained everything and asked for "all his intellect and utmost activity;" he knew that only two rebel divisions were in front of him, while he had his own two divisions with Couch close behind him and Colonel Miles with twelve thousand men ready to move out on McLaws from Harper's Ferry as soon as he (Franklin) should attack his rear. But fortunately for McLaws, Franklin was too slow with his succor and Colonel Miles was too hasty with his surrender, for the former's advance was completely stopped by a single brigade of McLaws which formed a rear line, while the latter displayed the white flag about 9.30 A. M. of the 15th, giving up Harper's Ferry and twelve thousand prisoners, and enabling Lee again to reunite his endangered army.

The Federal right wing, comprising Pleasanton's cavalry, Hooker's First Corps, Sumner's Second Corps, and Mansfield's Twelfth Corps, pursued Hill and Longstreet by way of Boonsborough; while the centre, Burnside's Ninth Corps and Sykes's division

of the Fifth Corps, took the old turnpike direct to Sharpsburg. Richardson's division of the Second Corps reached the east side of Antietam Creek early that afternoon, and found the enemy halted on the other side and drawn up ready to receive him. He immediately took position on the right of the turnpike, and Sykes, who now came up, formed on the left. But the remainder of both columns was too far in the rear for any operations that afternoon, the last on which Hill and Longstreet were unsupported. McClellan spent the rest of this day and night in placing his army in position, and this work was not completed till sometime after sunrise of the sixteenth.

Jackson, leaving A. P. Hill at Harper's Ferry to receive the surrender and secure the captured property, started at 1 A. M. of the 16th for Sharpsburg via Shepherdstown, ordering McLaws and Walker to follow him. Jackson reached Lee early on the 16th and Walker arrived that afternoon. McLaws, stationed on the north side of the Potomac, found that the direct road to Sharpsburg was too near Franklin's flank, and therefore crossed the river and moved up on the south side, so that he did not reach Sharpsburg until after the beginning of the battle of the 17th. Even A. P. Hill, who waited at Harper's Ferry to complete the details of the capture, reached the field of Antietam in time to repel the last and successful attack in the afternoon. Thus the reunion of Lee's army was accomplished between the morning of the 16th and the afternoon of the 17th. Any attack before early morning of the 16th would have met only Longstreet and D. H. Hill.

Franklin, who commanded the extreme left and thus held the most important position, did nothing.

After gallantly carrying Crampton's Gap on the 14th, he declined to attack McLaws's thin rear line and left the Harper's Ferry garrison to its fate. He then remained between the gap and Rohrersville two days and three nights, doing absolutely nothing, but waiting orders from McClellan, which were not sent until the night of the 16th. He finally started early on the 17th and reached the field of Antietam at noon, but in time, had McClellan followed his advice, to take a most important part in that bloody battle.

McClellan was as ready for the coming struggle on the morning of the 16th as he was on the 17th, except for some slight changes of his troops to meet altered dispositions of Lee, and except for a careful reconnoissance of the field, which did him no more good than it would have done Lee. He gained only Morell's division of the Fifth Corps, which reached him at noon of the 16th. He could have had Franklin's three divisions there as early on the 16th as he did on the 17th, and even earlier, if he had made up his mind to call them into battle there on the 16th. He would not have encountered Walker's division until that afternoon, and McLaws and A. P. Hill not at all on that day. The quasi-victory of the 17th could easily have been a complete success on the 16th.

The Twentieth moved on the 15th with the brigade from Middletown toward Boonsborough, and then turned off to Centreville or Keedysville, through which it marched to the Antietam. Many recruits joined it on that day and took part in the battle of the 17th; but as the detachments sent from Boston were at this time mixed together in Washington and only chance individuals from the consolidated

body were armed and forwarded before the battle, it is impossible to tell which particular men of them were engaged at Antietam.

Colonel Palfrey wrote as follows of the enthusiasm of the army for McClellan as he rode to the front on the afternoon of the 15th:

"While the long columns of the Federal army were resting along the Boonsboro' Road, General McClellan passed through them to the front, and had from them such a magnificent reception as was worth living for. Far from the rear the cheers were heard, faintly at first, and gradually the sound increased and grew to a roar as he approached. The weary men sprang to their feet and cheered and cheered, and as he went the cheers went before him and with him and after him, till the sound, receding in the distance, at last died away."

CHAPTER VII

BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

RICHARDSON'S division of the Second Corps, with the Fifth New Hampshire as skirmishers in advance of the whole army, arrived about 2 P. M. of the 15th and took position on the north side of the Boonsborough Pike a short distance from Antietam Creek. Soon after Pleasanton with his division of cavalry came up and went into camp north of the pike near Keedysville. The next to follow was Sykes's division of the Fifth Corps, which formed in battle line further south and nearly opposite Sharpsburg.

When McClellan arrived a little later, he found these divisions in line, and selected positions for the other troops, having them duly placed as they came upon the field. With twenty-nine additional brigades that came up during the afternoon and night, McClellan had in hand on the morning of the 16th the greater part of the army, consisting of thirty-five brigades of infantry and a strong division of cavalry, while Lee could bring into action only fifteen brigades, fourteen of which had been engaged at Turner's Gap on the 14th, where they met not only defeat but losses numbering nearly three thousand.

From Turner's Gap to Sharpsburg is only seven miles, and it would have been no hardship upon the troops to have required every division to have been in line in front of that place by noon of the 15th.

The roads were good, the weather fine, and as no opposition was met, a march of seven miles in three or four hours appears an easy task as compared with what the same army was destined to accomplish under the inspiration of a different leader in reaching the heights of Gettysburg under the burning heat of a July sun.

The situation of Lee's army on the 15th gave to his opponent an opportunity such as war seldom offers, fortune having thrown into McClellan's hands information of the location of every division of Lee's army and the part each was expected to play. With only fifteen brigades in front of him at Sharpsburg and as many more round and about Harper's Ferry, with their task there known and not yet completed, it is rather painful to record how all the bright possibilities of such a situation were allowed to slip away and vanish when only a moderate exertion and a reasonable activity might have converted them into brilliant accomplishments.

Franklin, on the left in Pleasant Valley, with all his wealth of intellectual gifts, lacked the one quality needed, and allowed his force of eighteen thousand men to be stood off by a picket line until Harper's Ferry had surrendered, and then asked for reënforcements, which were sent to him to hold his position, while his opponents were making all haste in an opposite direction, permitting neither darkness nor fatigue to stay their march.

If McClellan had directed his divisions to make a night march, as the enemy had often found profit in doing, the whole army would have been concentrated by eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 15th and he could have opened the battle soon after under conditions that might have made the loss of Harper's

Ferry to appear like a blessing in disguise. But this was not to be. The Army of the Potomac had yet to pass through a process of evolution that finally brought to its command and at the head of its several corps and divisions the men who were to make its power effective and its final triumph sure.

The good fortune that attended the Army of Northern Virginia during the first two years of the war was due to the happy choice of officers early placed in command over it. It never knew but two commanders, both of a high order, the latter succeeding to command solely by reason of wounds received by the former at Fair Oaks. The First Corps rounded out its career under Longstreet, whose name early became a household word in the South, and who was to Lee's army what Davoust was to the armies of the French Empire. The Second Corps had but two permanent chiefs, Jackson and Ewell, and the Third Corps saw its only commander fall on the 2d of April in a vain endeavor to repair a break in the lines in front of Petersburg. Its divisions are still generally known to us by the names of the officers early placed at their heads, so long was their association continued.

Of the fifty odd general officers exercising command in the Army of the Potomac at the time of its organization, only one, General Meade, was with it at Appomattox. After this accomplished officer reached the supreme command, Lee's succession of brilliant victories was broken, and never again was he able to gain over his opponent a tactical or strategical advantage of any moment, and his subsequent successes were only of a defensive character in warding off assaults against his fortifications.

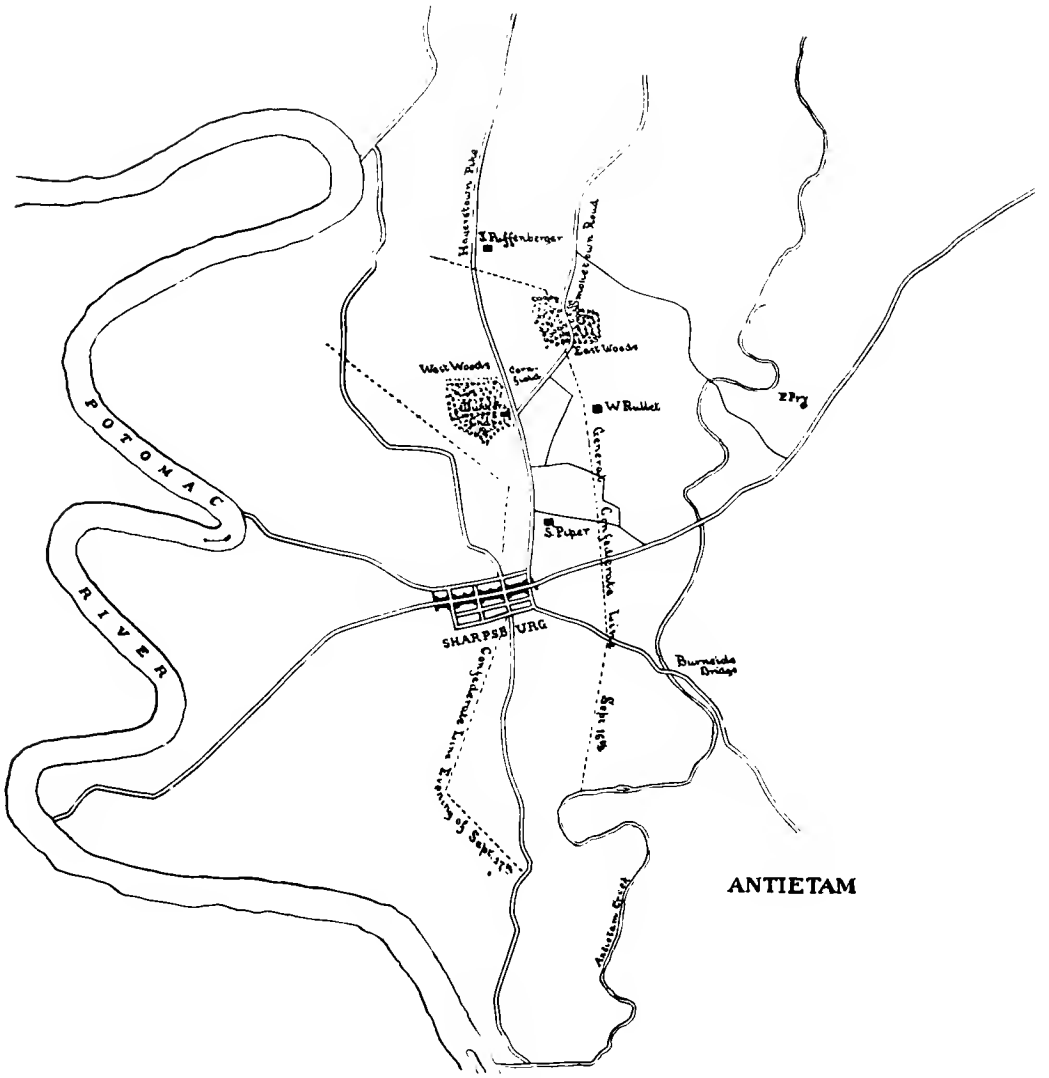
On the morning of the 16th Jackson arrived at

Sharpsburg, after a night march of many miles, with two divisions, but the divisions of Anderson, McLaws, Walker, and A. P. Hill did not come up until the 17th, the last named division arriving between two and three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy's line as finally formed rested on Antietam Creek a mile below the Burnside Bridge, and ran nearly parallel with it for about three miles, and then swung back northwesterly on a curve until the left touched the Potomac. It was nearly six miles in length and possessed the advantage of having its flanks protected by two streams.

The plan of battle finally settled upon by McClellan included a principal attack upon the enemy's left and a minor attack on the right. This was perhaps well enough, but the manner in which it was carried out enabled Lee, with his lesser force, to meet our columns at every point with superior numbers and save his army from what should have been a crushing defeat. The choice of a double attack, as in this instance, has been often adopted, but the wisdom of it depends much upon the topography of the field and the difficulties to be encountered in making it. There were strong objections to be urged against the left attack at the Burnside Bridge, for it could be foreseen that a small force even would make the crossing a difficult problem, and after it was effected, the troops, being more or less broken and disordered in opening a gateway to the enemy, would be the less ready and resolute in the first encounter.

No general order of battle was issued that would have enabled the corps commanders to understand what part each was to play and the interdependence of one upon the other, but special orders were sent


Hagerstown Pike
J. Puffenberger
Smoketown Road
East Woods
West Woods
Cornfield
W. Rullet
E. Pry
General Confederate Line
S. Piper
SHARPSBURG
Burnside Bridge
Confederate Line Evening of Sept. 17th
Sept. 16th
Antietam Creek
POTOMAC
RIVER

ANTIETAM

at different times, so that each corps commander fought a battle all by himself without coöperation or support from any other force.

It was not until two o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th that the first of these special orders was issued, directing Hooker to cross the Antietam with the First Corps of less than ten thousand men, and move alone across the front of a good part of the Confederate army to make an attack upon its left flank. It is not strange that Hooker received this command with amazement, and expressed to McClellan his sense of the danger to which he was being exposed. Crossing the stream by the upper bridge and a near-by ford, he moved in two columns across the country as far as the Hagerstown Road, and then faced to the south, forming a battle line with Doubleday's division on the right, Meade in the centre, and Ricketts on the left. Though separated by nearly four miles from the remainder of the army, Hooker set his columns in motion in the direction of Sharpsburg, and soon encountered the enemy in front of Meade, and after a conflict of some sharpness with two brigades of Hood's division, which Longstreet reported met with severe losses, darkness came on and the men passed the night in the position they had gained, so near to the enemy that their conversation could be easily heard.

In the evening McClellan sent three special orders: one to Mansfield to move the Twelfth Corps to the support of Hooker, one to Sumner to have his corps in readiness to move at daylight, and one to Burnside to have the Ninth Corps in readiness to cross at the Burnside Bridge at the same hour. A little before midnight the Twelfth Corps took up its line of march, following the route of Hooker, and at half-past two

in the morning went into bivouac a mile in his rear.

As soon as it was daylight Hooker commenced a vigorous attack along his whole front, and forced on the fighting with much resolution and courage until half-past seven, when he was wounded and compelled to retire. It was a fierce, close, and deadly conflict for two hours between the Federal divisions and the two divisions of Jackson. The right wing made but little progress, but the left was more successful, and forced back the enemy so far and in such a direction as to bring its line nearly parallel to the Hagerstown Pike. The forces on both sides were absolutely exhausted. Jackson's divisions were withdrawn, and Hood moved up into his place. Hooker's line had almost disappeared. The losses on either side had been frightful. Nearly a third of the corps had been killed or wounded, and one brigade lost as high as forty-four per cent. On the Confederate side General Starke, commanding the Stonewall division, and a brigade commander, were killed. General Lawton, commanding Ewell's division, and Colonel Walker, commanding a brigade, were very seriously wounded, Lawton and Hays reported that more than half of their brigades were either killed or wounded; Trimble reported more than a third of his brigade disabled, and all the regimental commanders in these brigades, except two, were killed or wounded. This was the most desperate fighting that had thus far been seen.

At the time Hooker was wounded, Mansfield brought up the Twelfth Corps, and while placing it in line was instantly killed. It consisted of only two divisions, and numbered about seven thousand men. General Lee, not expecting a great battle to be fought by successive detachments following each other over

the same ground, had kept his lines thus far as originally formed; but when he saw the advance of the Twelfth Corps to assist or replace the First, in addition to Hood's division already mentioned, he sent forward D. H. Hill with five brigades, McLaws with four, and other troops to this part of the field.

Upon the death of Mansfield General Williams succeeded to the command. It is not possible to determine with exactness the order in which his troops were brought into action. Crawford had command of the First Division, consisting of the brigades of Knife and Gordon. Green commanded the Second, formed by three brigades led by Tyndale, Stainrook, and Goodrich. As this corps came up while the First was on the fighting line, it at first took position on the left; but during the early stage of the advance Hooker's men had so nearly all retired to the rear that it bore to the right, drove the enemy from the cornfield between the East Woods and the pike, and finally gained possession of the West Woods near the Dunker Church.

The conflict during this second stage of the battle had been between the Twelfth Corps with a few men from the First and the division of Hood and remnants of other commands. The Union forces had gained a good deal of ground. This was the first time that the West woods and the Dunker Church had been reached; but the corps had been considerably broken, and the two divisions were separated by a wide interval. The First Division was near the Miller house facing north, and the Second parallel with the pike facing west. There was no connection between the two. Though capable of holding the position gained against any pressure that might be brought against them by the Confederate forces then in front, there was but little inclination or power for further aggressive action.

The second stage of the battle was practically ended at about nine o'clock. Seven thousand men had concluded that they were not quite powerful enough to overthrow an army. As the country was open, it was apparent to every one that the battle was joined at no other part of the line.

It will be remembered that General Sumner had been ordered the previous evening to have the Second Corps in readiness to move one hour before daylight. To those who served under him it is not necessary to say that the order was literally complied with. For hours the men were in line listening to the rumble and roar of the battle miles away, as they had done at Fair Oaks, but not until half-past seven did the order come. It is not unlikely that an intense nervousness disturbed the mind of Sumner at this delay, which has never been explained, the result of which was later witnessed in the disaster to Sedgwick's division. And when the order came, it was with the direction that the First Division should remain until it could be replaced by Morell's division, which occurred two hours later.

It is necessary to study this battle with a watch in hand. Following the sequence of events and marking at the same time the hours of their occurrence, it will be seen that two divisions of the Second Corps took up their march at the time when Hooker was put out of the fight, and that they arrived upon the field between nine and half-past, when the Twelfth Corps had been so far used up that it could not be relied upon for much further service.

Turning his column promptly to the ford with Sedgwick's division, to which the Twentieth belonged, in advance, Sumner hurried forward in direction of the battlefield. Owing to the advance that had been

made by the Federal forces, Sedgwick bore to the left, and reached the scene of conflict by a shorter route than Hooker or Mansfield followed. Scattered over the field are several of those groves of noble oaks that everywhere give character and beauty to the scenery of Maryland. They are nearly always clear of underbrush, and offer no obstruction to a quick and easy passage through them. As the division approached the eastern edge of one of these, known to the literature of the battle as the East Woods, it was formed in three lines, Gorman having the front, Dana the centre, and Howard the rear. The space between the brigades was not more than fifty paces. French's division was formed in a like manner to our left, but as its operations were in a different direction, and not in coöperation, they need not be now considered.

It was not far from nine o'clock when Sedgwick was ready to move. The battle had practically ceased. Williams says that on the approach of Sumner the Twelfth Corps was withdrawn. Sumner in his report says: "I saw nothing of Hooker's corps as I was advancing with my command over the field. There were some troops lying down on the left which I took to belong to Mansfield's command. General Hooker's corps was dispersed. There is no question about that. I sent one of my staff officers to find where they were, and General Ricketts, the only officer we could find, said that he could not raise three hundred men of the corps."

It will never be known how much, if at all, General Sumner's actions were affected by nervousness caused by his long delay, or how much, if any, that nervousness was increased when he was in the immediate presence of a powerful army with only two

divisions, and saw that practically every vestige of a fighting line once made up of two corps had disappeared from sight, but it well may have been that under such circumstances he was not in condition to exercise that self-control and cool judgment which the situation required. It is certain that he acted with promptness. The column was set in motion as soon as formed. Sumner, with his white hair and eager, nervous face, was a conspicuous figure as he rode along with the men, ready to share their danger. His habit of pushing forward to the first line was well known, and had endeared him to the troops. Sedgwick, too, had become a favorite with the division, and never allowed any officer to surpass him in fearlessness and gallantry, though of a cooler temperament than the commander of the corps.

As the division emerged from the East Woods, the Confederate batteries were in full view on the commanding hill to the left, and as the direction of the column was straight towards them, the shot and shell were plainly visible. There were many new men in the regiment, but in war example is as contagious as elsewhere, and the new recruits looked upon the situation with composure and imitated in their conduct that of the older men who surrounded them. The enemy was driven before us with losses on either side, especially by the Hagerstown Pike, where a firm stand was made by the fences. As the division entered the West Woods, it passed out of the fire and gained the further or western edge quickly and with ease. Here the ground fell away very sharply, and beyond was a fence, and on the other side of it a wood road which ran from the Hagerstown Pike, just north of the Dunker Church, to a farmhouse in front. The brigades of Gorman and Dana passed

over this fence into the road beyond. It was here that we struck the enemy, who opened fire upon us before they were discovered. They held a cornfield and farmhouse, with outbuildings and haystacks, all on an opposite slope.

As our first line stopped when the fire commenced, the lines crowded very closely together. No one in the second or third line could fire a shot. The men of the Twentieth stood leaning on their muskets, and some of the officers commenced smoking. We had remained in this position some minutes — the most advanced one reached — watching the line in front firing and falling, when suddenly the cry was raised, "The enemy is behind us!" There they were, not twenty rods from us, coming in on the left flank, and the regiments there were breaking. Howard's brigade went first and very quickly, while other regiments held their ground or ran away according to their courage and discipline. The Twentieth faced about, but was so crowded in the centre of the division that only a few could fire without killing men on our own side.

General Sumner was on his horse talking with Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball of the Fifteenth Massachusetts when the latter called his attention to the Confederates coming in on our left. Sumner said, "My God! we must get out of this!" and ordered the regiment on the right to fall back. When the regiments on the left gave way, the enemy poured in upon our rear, and for a time the loss of life was fearful. We had never before seen anything like it. Sumner walked his horse, quietly waving his hand and keeping all near him steady. The Twentieth retired by the right flank with arms at a shoulder and at the ordinary step. Although crowds of men

were rushing by us in great disorder and confusion, the regiment was kept perfectly steady, and we were able to bring off every man except those killed or wounded. We marched back through the fields and up the pike to Joe Puffenburger's house, where we formed line in the field east of the big barn, between that and the woods on the east. We soon after advanced a short distance to the front, and Companies K and I were thrown out as skirmishers.

This completes the story of the part taken by Sedgwick's division in the battle of Antietam, which in less than an hour from the time the column was formed had lost over two thousand men, with the sad consciousness that the sacrifice was in vain. It happened in this way. Without any knowledge of the topography of the field and the position of the enemy, the division had been hastily formed as already described and at once sent rapidly forward without skirmishers in front or any preparation made to guard either flank. By reason of this haste and want of care in the particulars mentioned, the column moved through the West Woods with its left flank but a few rods from the enemy's lines of battle; and when it was brought to a halt by the forces in front and while engaged there, a force was sent to strike it in the rear, and at the same time great masses came pouring like a torrent against its flank. In such a situation it could do nothing but suffer and retreat. Even if the column had been formed in the most careful manner and everything had been known of the field's topography and the position of the enemy, it was foredoomed to defeat, for five thousand men could not be expected to wrestle alone with an army. If a break had been made in the enemy's line, it would soon have been forced to re-

treat, for there was no organized force ready to extend assistance.

French's division, which marched with us and formed on our left, for some reason of which no explanation has ever been given, moved at a diverging angle to Sedgwick's column, and the further each advanced the further they were apart, and when each came in contact with the enemy, they were separated by more than half a mile. French met the enemy near the Rullet house, where he became hotly engaged, but did not succeed in gaining much ground. It was a fairly even contest between his division and the forces opposed, and doubtless it inflicted losses as great as its own, which amounted to sixteen hundred and fourteen killed and wounded, with a few missing.

Richardson's division of the Second Corps crossed the Antietam at half-past nine, and moved on a line that brought it upon the field to the left of French. At the time it was ready to attack, French had retired and was holding the high ground far in the rear of the Rullet house. The best and most successful fighting of the day was undoubtedly done by Richardson's division. The heaviest losses suffered by the enemy were in resisting its advance. It gained and held the Piper house, which is only a short distance from Sharpsburg. What is known as the Bloody Lane where the Confederate dead lay in rows, such as were seen later in front of Marye's Heights, was the work of the brigades of Caldwell and Brooke. Colonel Francis C. Barlow here won a promotion, and Colonel Cross of the famous Fifth New Hampshire did service as great but without similar recognition.

During the previous evening McClellan sent an

order to General Humphreys, who had been left with his fine division, for some reason it is presumed, at Frederick, to come forward, but it did not arrive until the morning of the 18th. At the same time Franklin was ordered to start at daylight on the morning of the 17th, but though only seven miles away in Pleasant Valley, his leading division did not appear until ten o'clock.

When McClellan assumed command of the army after the defeat of Pope, he wisely advised the government to withdraw all the forces at Harper's Ferry and Maryland Heights, as they were useless there and could be of service if rightly placed. As soon, however, as he learned of the evacuation of those places by the Confederates, he directed Franklin to send Couch's division to hold Maryland Heights, but it was recalled after having made nearly the entire distance, and only rejoined the army during the evening of the 17th. Though Franklin crossed the Antietam with two divisions between ten and eleven o'clock and some of his forces became engaged, his troops were much scattered, sent hither and thither as calls for assistance were made, and did little save to furnish a support to the remnants of the three corps who had made the fight on the right. Soon after the capture of the Piper house at about one o'clock in the afternoon, the battle ceased on this part of the field, though skirmishing in a languid and aimless way went on and the artillery was kept in action more or less vigorously during the remainder of the day.

It will thus be seen that the principal assault against the left of the Confederate army consisted of five separate attacks, under as many distinct commanders, the first three being substantially over the

same ground near the Hagerstown Pike, and the two latter ones extending nearly a mile to the east. There was a well-marked interval between each, and probably at no one time were there more than five or six thousand men pressing heavily against any part of the enemy's line.

The plan, as already stated, contemplated that the right wing should be assisted by the operations of the Ninth Corps, which was directed to be in readiness to cross the Antietam at the Burnside Bridge at daylight. It was not until half-past nine that the order was received by Burnside directing him to carry the bridge, seize the heights beyond, and move upon Sharpsburg and gain the rear of the Confederate army. It was not until one o'clock that the corps was across the stream, and it was three o'clock when its formation was completed. The attack which was finally made after the action upon the right had been at an end for two hours failed by reason of the arrival of A. P. Hill's division from Harper's Ferry, just in season to arrest its advance at the outskirts of Sharpsburg and hurl it back by an attack upon its unprotected left wing. This ended the battle. Neither General McClellan nor any officer or soldier in the army thought that night of a victory having been won. It was two days later, after Lee had retreated across the Potomac, that any one put forward this claim, and in a qualified sense it has been allowed.

Colonel Francis W. Palfrey, of the Twentieth, who was so seriously wounded that he never again joined the regiment, wrote thus of the close of the day:

"As the sun sank to rest on the seventeenth of September, the last sounds of battle along Antietam Creek died away. The cannon could at last grow cool, and unwounded men and horses

could enjoy rest and food, but there were thousands already sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, and many times as many thousands who were suffering all the agonies that attend on wounds. The corn and oats, so fresh and green in the morning, were reddened with blood and torn by bullets and shell, and the very earth was furrowed by the incessant impact of lead and iron. The blessed night came, and brought with it sleep and forgetfulness and refreshment to many; but the murmur of the night wind, breathing over fields of wheat and clover, was mingled with the groans of the countless sufferers of both armies."

The morning report of August 12 gave a total of four hundred and sixty-eight enlisted men.

CHAPTER VIII

ANTIETAM TO FREDERICKSBURG

In consequence of the wounding of General Sedgwick, General Howard took command of the division; in consequence of the wounding of General Dana, Colonel Lee took command of our brigade on the 18th of September; and owing to his absence and the wounding of Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey, our senior captain present, Dreher, took command of the regiment, and Captain Shepard acted as major. Owing to the illness of Lieutenant E. N. Hallowell and the wounding of Lieutenant W. F. Milton, both of the Twentieth, aides to General Dana, Lieutenant Henry Ropes of Company K was detailed as acting aide-de-camp to Colonel Lee.

After the Twentieth had formed on the new line east of Joseph Puffenberger's big barn at Antietam, it was immediately sent forward in support of a battery, and held this position till the close of the battle, and for the two nights and day following. Companies I and K were sent out on picket in front of the regiment, and remained until the morning of the 19th. We heard the enemy moving all the night of the 18th, and were certain that they were retreating, and we gave constant information to headquarters of these sounds and our impressions, but nothing was done until we were advanced as skirmishers on the morning of the 19th, and found that the enemy had gone.

During the 18th we went over the field of battle and assisted in removing the wounded and burying the dead. This proved to be the bloodiest battle of the entire war, considering that the fighting only lasted a single day. Colonel Lee found only nine hundred and sixty men for duty in the brigade, nearly nine hundred having been lost in the battle. The Twentieth lost about one hundred and fifty out of four hundred, leaving about two hundred and fifty with the colors on the 18th.

Captain Macy, who was bringing recruits from Washington, heard the heavy artillery firing all day of the 17th, and hurried forward as fast as he could push his squad, being in great anxiety as to the condition of affairs with the regiment. He could only get to Rockville that evening. The next day he met a man riding back and asked him, —

"Is Sumner's corps in?"

"In?" was the reply. "Yes, in all over!"

However, he reached the front on the 20th with the recruits, and for a while after this others came in fairly good numbers. They were mostly good men, — those who had not been carried away by restlessness and the first excitement of the war, but who were convinced that it was their duty to do their share in bringing it to an end.

At six on the morning of the 22d, the regiment broke camp, and started for Harper's Ferry, thirteen miles away. It forded the river at two in the afternoon, and went into camp on Bolivar Heights, where it was pleasantly located on the brow of the hill, from which there was a beautiful view, and where the air was pure and bracing.

The next day it began dress parade, battalion and company drill, etc., getting the new men into shape

and keeping the old ones out of the mischief provoked by idleness.

Colonel Lee suffered a great deal from the various illnesses of camp brought on by exposure to wet and cold, for he would not claim the privileges of age, and so avoid anything to which younger men might be exposed with impunity. He refused to shirk any duty or take a leave of absence, saying that if he could not do his whole duty he would do none, but would resign.

On September 29 Captain Schmidt rejoined the regiment, thinking that he had sufficiently recovered from his terrible wound at Ball's Bluff more than eleven months before.

The regiment now settled down to permanent quarters, and by October 2 the thoughtful and energetic quartermaster had finished brick ovens for a soft bread bakery. October 1 Lieutenant Murphy rejoined from sick leave. That afternoon President Lincoln, with Generals McClellan and Sumner, visited our camp and rode along the lines. On the 4th Mrs. Lee came to visit the colonel, and found lodgings in the town. On the 5th the express companies brought up boxes, etc., for the army, and the regiment was gladdened by the arrival of three army wagons loaded with goodies, comforts, and luxuries of various kinds. Some boxes had been sent to Harrison's Landing two months before, and had been wandering about ever since, waiting for us to settle down, which we now seemed to have done decidedly and permanently.

General Darius N. Couch was ordered October 7 to Harper's Ferry to take command of the Second Corps, relieving the grand old Sumner, who was granted leave of absence.

On October 9 a number of the Twentieth men captured at Ball's Bluff nearly a year before, and some invalids, fifty in all, rejoined the regiment, and with them came a squad of thirty recruits. On the 11th Lieutenant Milton, having recovered from his Antietam wounds, and Lieutenant Curtis returned to duty; and on the 15th Lieutenant Ropes returned from Colonel Lee's staff to the regiment.

On October 16 at 6.30 A. M. the regiment started on a reconnoissance to Charlestown, Virginia, and drove in a small force of Confederates and occupied the place, bivouacking there in a hard cold rain. As the Twentieth was in the advance, temporarily attached to Colonel Zook's brigade of the First Division, it was on picket duty for the whole time, but there was no infantry fighting. This reconnoissance was undertaken by General Humphreys and some troops of the Fifth Corps, forming the right wing, from Sharpsburg by way of Shepherdstown to Halltown, and by General Hancock and a force from the Second Corps, forming the left wing, from Harper's Ferry to Charlestown. Colonel Lee commanded a provisional brigade consisting of the Seventh Michigan, Forty-second and Fifty-ninth New York of our own brigade, and the Seventy-first and Seventy-second Pennsylvania of our second brigade. Having learned the location of the Confederates, the entire command started back at noon of the 17th. The regiment passed that night at Halltown and reached its camp on Bolivar Heights at eight o'clock the next morning.

The regiment had no fighting and suffered no loss on this short excursion. Poor, plucky Colonel Lee got into the saddle for this reconnoissance a sick man, passed two nights in rain and cold, without even a tent for shelter, and came back to camp dangerously sick,

so that he was forced on the 21st to move into drier and warmer quarters in a house in town. He persisted in doing his duty, when he was physically unfit. He was so ill that his death was actually reported in camp on the 25th.

The regiment now settled down for a long stay, hunting up a house for use as a hospital, and building bakehouses, etc. While pretty warm in the day, it began to get very cold at night, so that by the night of the 27th half an inch of ice formed. Regimental and company drills now occupied the time. Colonel Lee left for Boston on the 29th on leave of absence for his health. Captain Schmidt was unable to stand life in the field, and after only two days on duty again fell sick, was left at Bolivar Heights when the regiment moved, and never rejoined it for active duty. On the 28th we received a new set of state colors, and on the 30th we sent back to Boston both stands of colors which had been received in August, 1861, and carried in all our fights, except Ball's Bluff. "Storms and bullets had torn them to remnants," as Colonel Lee wrote to Governor Andrew, "believe me, they are bright and untarnished."

On October 29 at 5 P. M. the Twentieth was sent out on picket, while in the evening the quartermaster received orders to cook three days' rations. This was our first notice of McClellan's new campaign; but we might have known that it would come soon, for we had just finished a fine bakery!

At two on the afternoon of the 30th we marched by the pontoon bridge across the Shenandoah, and about eight miles down Pleasant Valley to the vicinity of Hillsborough, where we camped over the next day. On November 1 we started at 11 A. M. and went into bivouac at Wood Grove, which was about sixteen

miles from Harper's Ferry and twelve miles from Leesburg. On the 2d we had reveille at 5 A. M. and fell in about eight, and had a comfortable march of about thirteen miles to the neighborhood of Bloomfield, near Snicker's Gap, where we bivouacked at seven in the evening. It was lovely Indian summer weather, — warm in the day, but with ice forming at night, — and the march was through a beautiful country, up among hills and with the Blue Ridge on the right.

At noon of the 3d we arrived at Ashby's Gap, hearing cannonading in our front all day. At 4 P. M. we were drawn up in line of battle in support of a battery which was loaded and primed, but we did not become engaged. Pleasanton drove the enemy, and we went quickly into bivouac. At 1 P. M. of the 4th we marched about four miles to Berry's Gap, beyond Paris.

Letters from Boston received on November 4 reported that ten of our officers met at dinner at Parker's: Colonel Lee, on sick leave; Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey, wounded at Antietam, who never rejoined; Captain Bartlett, wounded on the peninsula, just appointed colonel of the Forty-ninth Massachusetts; Captain Putnam, wounded at Ball's Bluff; Captain N. P. Hallowell, wounded at Antietam; Captain Holmes, wounded at Antietam; Lieutenant E. N. Hallowell, on sick leave; Surgeon Hayward, on leave; and Medical Cadet Norton Folsom.

We started at 8 A. M. of the 6th, marched through and about six miles beyond Paris to Rectortown, where we encamped at 2 P. M. On the 7th we had a driving northeast snowstorm, just like home, a reminder of the near approach of winter. Captain Macy was that day detailed as brigade quartermaster, and left the regiment for brigade headquarters.

On November 8 we marched from Rectortown through Salem and about four miles beyond, where we pitched our shelter tents late at night, starting again in the morning to reach Warrenton early in the afternoon.

Late in the evening of November 7 General McClellan received orders removing him from the command of the Army of the Potomac and appointing General Burnside in his place. McClellan left us on the 10th. When General Lee received the news, twenty-four hours after the event, of the appointment of General Burnside, he said to General Longstreet that he regretted to part with General McClellan, "for," he added, "we always understood each other so well. I am afraid they will continue to make these changes until they find some one whom I don't understand."

Soon after daybreak on the 15th we packed up and, again the advance of the army, left Warrenton, marching through, and three miles beyond Warrenton Junction, where we spent the night. After a reveille at 4.30 on the 16th we marched all day, and with a short march on the 17th we reached Falmouth, where we halted at 2.30 P. M. about a mile from the river. Captain O. W. Holmes, Jr. rejoined us from his Antietam wound on the 19th, and with him came Lieutenant Abbott from sick leave. We moved our camp on the 20th about one mile, to an excellent place on a hill, where we remained until the battle of Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER IX

FREDERICKSBURG

THE removal of General McClellan was received with satisfaction by a few and with regret by many. In a sudden crisis like that of the Civil War the public feels its own helplessness without the aid of a leader capable of guiding the storm, and in a state of highly wrought excitement it readily and hopefully hailed the appearance of General McClellan at the head of the army as the one destined to lead us to victory. There are no subjects upon which the people are so little capable of forming a correct judgment as those arising out of a great war. The army in the first years of the conflict showed the feelings and partook of this weakness of the nation. Though disappointed at the removal, and grieved at the loss of their favorite general, it was still ready to give the fullest measure of its strength to the cause, whomsoever the government might select to command it.

It cannot be said that the appointment of General Burnside was more acceptable than would have been that of Sumner, Franklin, or Hooker. His success in North Carolina had not been of great dimensions, and around more than one camp-fire it had been whispered that the left wing under his command had not done its full duty at Antietam. The slowness and over-caution of McClellan were destined to be succeeded by the thoughtless move-

ments and rash actions of Burnside that brought the Union cause very near the brink of destruction.

In accordance with a request, on the 9th of November, the very day he assumed command of the army, he sent a long communication to General Halleck, giving in detail the movements he proposed for the first stage in a campaign for the capture of the Confederate capital. In brief, his purpose was to concentrate the army about Warrenton and, after giving the enemy the impression that he was to attack in the direction of Culpeper or Gordonsville, make a rapid move with his whole force to Fredericksburg with a view to a future movement upon Richmond from that city.

General Halleck, not satisfied with Burnside's plan, went to Warrenton on the 11th and remained during the following day. The question of what should be done was discussed between the two, and, no agreement having been reached, General Halleck returned to Washington to submit the final decision to the President. On the 14th Halleck telegraphed that the President gave his assent to Burnside's plan, which was construed by him as an approval of his written communication of the 9th.

General Burnside immediately issued orders for the army to march along the left bank of the Rappahannock to Falmouth, at which place General Sumner arrived on the 17th, General Franklin at Stafford Court House on the 18th, and General Hooker at Hartwood on the 19th. To this order can be traced all the woes which the Army of the Potomac suffered during the short time it remained under his command.

General Halleck had promised at the conference at Warrenton that the sending of the pontoon bridges, provisions, and railroad material should be attended

to at Washington, and evidently General Burnside gave but little thought to these things until his arrival opposite Fredericksburg. During the previous August he had been stationed for a number of weeks in this little city, and if he had an eye for ground must have observed that the hills in its rear offered a stronger position for a defensive battle than any on which the world's great battles had been fought.

While the Army of the Potomac was occupying Warrenton and the surrounding country, one half of the Army of Northern Virginia was clustered about Culpeper Court House under Longstreet, and the other half was many miles away in the Shenandoah Valley, as far north as Winchester, under Jackson. As long as Burnside remained in this position there was little danger of Longstreet moving from his cantonments. Whether Burnside made a threatening demonstration along his front for the purpose of deceiving him as to his intended movements or not, was of little consequence, for it was an easy matter to march his forces to Fredericksburg at any time more quickly than his opponent. This place in itself was of little or no consequence, and its possession became of interest only as the first resting place in a contemplated movement by land against Richmond. Situated at the head of navigation on the river, with the Potomac and Richmond Railroad passing through it, it was of value as a base of operations and a depot of supplies. It should and easily could have been taken without a contest. To accomplish this should have been the thought uppermost in the mind of the commanding general.

The promise of General Halleck to attend to the forwarding of the pontoon train was given upon the contingency that Burnside's plan should be ap-

proved; upon any other supposition it would be meaningless, as in case of other operations being undertaken or ordered it might not be required. Though General Halleck reported that General Burnside was never authorized to move the army, except that it should follow the right bank of the Rappahannock, this is of little importance as bearing upon his responsibility, as evidently he construed the authority sent as giving a free rein to carry out the movement in his own way. But this authority was not given until the forenoon of the 14th, and Sumner's division was put in motion at daylight on the 15th, under orders issued the previous evening, before information had been received in regard to the bridges. On the morning of the 15th Burnside received a dispatch from General Woodbury informing him that one pontoon train might be ready to start on the 16th or 17th, and that General Halleck opposed the sending of a second by land, but might do so if General Burnside should insist. It is thus made certain that before Sumner's division had proceeded far on the road, and could have been recalled without harm, the commanding general knew that the bridge material would not arrive for a week or ten days. General Sumner was permitted to continue the movement, and was followed the next morning by the remainder of the army.

Under these circumstances all the misfortunes flowing from this premature and ill-considered movement are to be traced directly to General Burnside. To place the army in front of Fredericksburg, without the means of crossing, pointed out to General Lee the prize sought to be won, and enabled him to send his swift-footed southern soldiers to throw a line of glittering bayonets around it and hold it

with ease. If the commanding general had arranged, as prudence and a sound military judgment would dictate, for the pontoons and the army to arrive at the same time, the bloody battle of Fredericksburg would never have been fought, and the Army of the Potomac would not have been called upon to suffer a defeat, that was not only disastrous, but productive of moral results that months did not wholly remove.

The sudden withdrawal of the forces from the front of Longstreet's corps in no way disquieted General Lee, though he was in doubt as to the direction they were taking and the purpose of the movement. Having learned of the arrival of General Sumner at Falmouth on the 17th, he at once sent McLaws's and Ransom's divisions on the road to Fredericksburg, and a few days later started with the remainder of Longstreet's corps for the same place; but not until it was certain that the Army of the Potomac was concentrated between Acquia Creek and Falmouth. General Jackson was still permitted to remain in the valley a hundred miles away, with discretionary authority to operate in any way he might think useful, subject to a possible sudden recall to the line of the Rappahannock. The calm and unruffled manner in which General Lee received the information of a new movement against Richmond is in striking contrast to the excitement and panic into which our military authorities were thrown whenever he turned his horse's head toward the upper Potomac.

Until the 10th of December the army remained in a state of inactivity, before which time General Jackson had been recalled, and had taken position some twenty miles lower down the river, and Long-

street had completed a line of fortifications along his front.

On assuming command General Burnside divided the army into three parts and assigned General Sumner to the command of what was called the Right Grand Division, consisting of the Second and Ninth Corps; General Hooker to the Centre Grand Division, consisting of the Third and Fifth Corps; and General Franklin to the Left Grand Division, consisting of the First and Sixth Corps. Each division was an army in itself. There were some advantages in this arrangement, but the consolidation of the six corps into three would have been better, but it is not probable that there was any one at that time of sufficient authority to have been able to accomplish so radical a change. In 1864, when General Grant assumed command of all the armies, this plan had been carried into effect.

The battle of Fredericksburg, in which the Twentieth was to bear so honorable and distinguished a part, is in some respects one of the most interesting battles ever fought on the American continent. It is not probable, however, that the historian of the rebellion will give it any very prominent position among the many great conflicts he will be called upon to record. The student of military science will find but little here to reward him for his toil. It lacks, too, that interest which gives an immortality of fame to fields of carnage where the tide of history has been turned, or where the fate of nations has been decided. The 13th of December was a disaster which only retarded for a short time the final triumph of the Union arms. Yet, aside from the low position it must ever maintain as one of the long series of engagements through which the Army

of the Potomac fought on so bravely to final victory, it possesses the mournful but unenviable notoriety of having reduced the spirits of that army to its lowest ebb. There were many times after bloody repulses when the prospect was dark and cloudy, but at no time did the soldiers come so near losing hope in their cause, or ambition to put forward another effort to save an imperiled government, as during the months which immediately followed the immense slaughter on the plain that is overlooked by the Marye and Willis Heights.

As a picture of all that is grand and awful in the meeting of hostile armies, Fredericksburg can claim preëminence over most of the battles of the war. The field was a broken plain, cultivated, devoid of trees, and overlooked by heights on either side from which could be seen without fear of harm the movements of the entire army. The dread spectacles, which, elsewhere, the friendly covering of hills and forests veiled from sight, were here laid open to the view of all. The soldier who has campaigned from Yorktown to the closing scene at Appomattox Court House will never return in mind more often to the incidents of any one day of his military career than to those which the 13th of December indelibly stamped upon his memory.

It was not expected by either commander, when General Burnside drew up on the left bank of the Rappahannock near Falmouth, that a great battle would be fought in that vicinity. On the 19th of November General Lee wrote to General Jackson informing him of the departure of Longstreet's corps for Fredericksburg, in which he made known his intention of not offering a determined resistance to Burnside's advance north of the North Anna.

Within a week, however, he changed his mind in this respect, but it seems certain that he was not hopeful of meeting with success in such resistance, for in a letter to President Davis he informed him of his purpose of breaking up the railroad as a means of retarding Burnside so as to oblige him to move with a large wagon train.

The Army of the Potomac was then in a condition to realize the highest expectations. Its spirits were high and elastic. The Maryland campaign, which culminated at Antietam, was fresh in its memory and well calculated to inspire confidence in its own prowess. From the Potomac to the Rappahannock Lee had retreated before the victors of Antietam, who began to think the quick spirit and fiery courage of his once formidable army had spent itself, and that it no longer had a taste for battle. There is reason for the belief that something of this feeling pervaded the South, and that General Lee himself was fearful that the strength of his army had been impaired by the unfavorable termination of the northern invasion. It had been undertaken, in the fond belief that beyond the Potomac he was soon to compel a recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. The army, too, was powerful in numbers as well as in spirits. The rolls showed above a hundred thousand men equipped for the field. There were many new regiments recently assigned, but placed side by side with the old they had quickly learned the duties of soldiers, and had begun to look upon themselves as veterans. The addition of recruits to an army, though unskilled in evolution or but little acquainted with the manual, is always an element of strength, if they are of such character as those gained by volunteering in the summer of 1862.

On the 10th of December it was generally known that the attempt would be made to cross the Rappahannock the following day. The secrets of military movements are discovered by an observant army by signs as certain as those which foretell the coming of storms. No precaution can entirely prevent this. The soldier catches the signs of an impending conflict, just as a farmer in the hay field catches the signs of a coming shower. There was a general air of business and activity throughout the army which an experienced eye could not well mistake. Groups of general officers with their staffs were collected about headquarters; the tardy pontoons had arrived and had been placed at a convenient point for use; innumerable army wagons were radiating in every direction from the centre of supplies at the railroad depot, crawling in long files, under whip and spur, over the hills till hid from sight in woods or valley; couriers were moving in greater numbers and at a brisker pace than usual, carrying the latest instructions to the various executive officers; and soldiers were writing to their homes under an impulse which they hardly wished to examine or analyze, in a vain attempt to allay fears which they well knew the announcement of a movement of the army would excite.

On the 9th of December orders were sent for the concentration of the army on the morning of the 11th. The grand divisions of Hooker and Sumner were to be massed near the Phillips house, while Franklin's two corps were to come together two miles lower down opposite the place of their expected crossing. The sun had not been able to thrust his face through the mist that had settled down so thickly over the valley that night, when the work of concen-

tration commenced over the vast plain stretching off to the Potomac. It was a goodly sight to behold that steady stream of men come pouring in from all directions to a common centre near the heads of the contemplated bridges. It is seldom that so large a part of an army is ever brought so closely together. For hours the living tide flowed in, not over one road, but in whatever way each detachment could quickest find its place of destination, that way it was sure to follow. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry, over fields and through forests, moved quickly to the place assigned them. The army had then learned the art of war, and fell naturally to its work. As regiment after regiment and brigade after brigade moved along, it was interesting to mark the fearless step with which those veterans of many battles moved forward to anticipated danger. The new regiments with banners bright and uniforms unsoiled moved along briskly, full of wonder at the novelties about them, to learn their first dread lesson of war.

By nine o'clock in the morning the concentration had been completed. Hooker covered the broad plateau of the Phillips house with infantry and artillery in mass. Sumner had concealed his divisions in the ravines and hollows nearer the river. Up to this time no change had been made in the Confederate forces. Longstreet was still opposite Fredericksburg, and Jackson some twenty miles lower down in the direction of Port Royal. Since the resolution was formed of making a determined stand against any advance of the enemy, nothing had been omitted to make the Confederate position secure.

As early as the 21st of November the residents of Fredericksburg were notified of the danger of

remaining longer in their houses, and all the ambulances and wagons in the army were put in service to remove them and their belongings to a place of safety. In a few days, a city of some four or five thousand people had been depopulated and its streets were deserted. This place, which was in the colonial period, and for some years after the revolution, one of the most important towns in Virginia, for some reason had failed to keep pace with its rivals in wealth and population, and for fifty years had been what was called a "finished town." For this length of time the sound of trowel or hammer had not been heard within its precincts in the erection of a new building. Occasionally a schooner would come up the river and tie up at the landing for a cargo of wheat and tobacco, but its halcyon days of a busy commerce had long since disappeared. Washington had lived in his youth upon his father's farm nearly opposite the city's wharf, and it is related by Irving that he was the only boy in his day who could throw a stone across the Rappahannock, which at that point is between four and five hundred feet wide. Mary Washington, the mother of George, lived for many years in the little stone house on the corner of Charles and Lewis streets, and died and was buried from there. Over her grave, and across the fields through which he had roamed and meditated, the Federal cannon were soon to send their shot and shell against those who were in rebellion against the government which he, more than any other, had been the instrument of establishing. In this harsh way the little burg, after half a century of sleep and forgetfulness, was destined to a new renown, and to be henceforth spoken of as the burial place of the mother of Washington

and the site of the great battle of Fredericksburg.

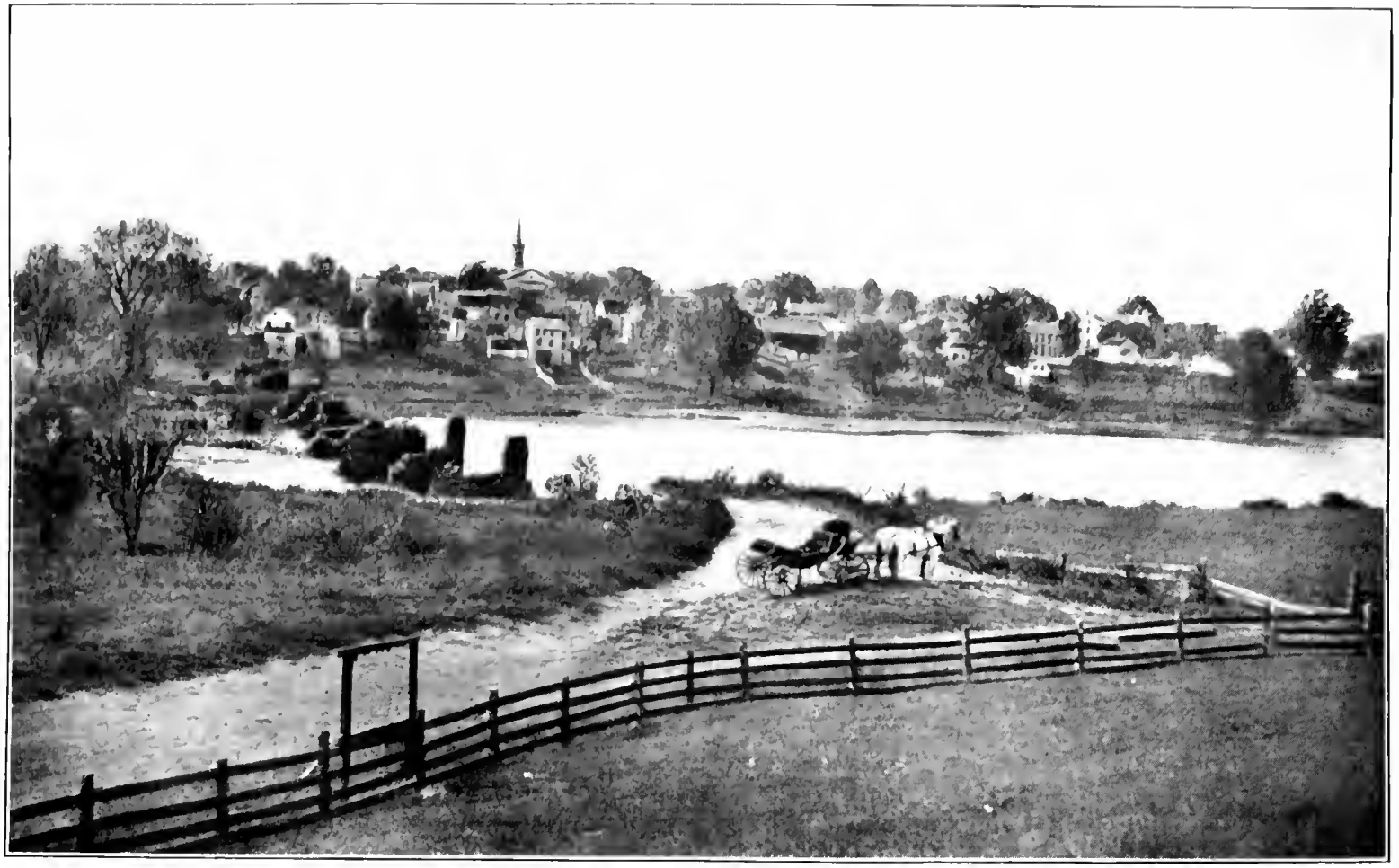
At first General Lee did not think that Burnside would attempt to cross at this point, but expected Port Royal or some spot further down would be the place where he was most likely to meet the enemy; but the long delay, and the work of rebuilding the wharf at Acquia Creek and repairing the railroad from there to Falmouth, which had been diligently prosecuted for nearly a month, satisfied him that the Federal commander was about to offer him an opportunity of inflicting a blow of more than ordinary proportions. As his army was somewhat scattered, it was necessary to throw every obstacle in the way of crossing the river, to gain the time needed for its concentration.

On the night of the 10th General Barksdale was picketing the river with part of his brigade in front of the city as far down as Deep Run. At the old rope-ferry, where the two upper bridges were to be placed, one company of the Seventeenth Mississippi was stationed, and at the steamboat landing was another company of this regiment under Captain Govan. The remainder of the regiment was held in reserve at the market-place under Colonel Fizer. At eleven o'clock General Barksdale rode into the city, and from information that had been received ordered the doubling of the picket line. Colonel Fizer sent two additional companies to the rope-ferry and two to Captain Govan. During the night the Thirteenth and Twenty-first Mississippi, commanded respectively by Colonel Carter and Colonel Humphrey, arrived at the market house, and the Eighth Florida was sent in detachments to Colonel Fizer and Captain Govan. Near the mouth of Deep Run the Eighteenth Mississippi was stationed, and this post was

subsequently strengthened by the Fifteenth South Carolina and the Eighteenth Georgia. In all a force of seven regiments was given to General Barksdale, with instructions to prevent the laying of a single bridge, if possible. In the city were four regiments, afterwards reinforced by three companies of the Eighteenth Mississippi, while at and below Deep Run were three, less the three companies detailed, from the Eighteenth Mississippi.

Fredericksburg extends for about a mile along the river upon a level plain some forty feet above it, and about a hundred yards from the water. It consists of five principal streets running northwest and southeast, with numerous short ones crossing these at right angles, all of which terminate in dead ends on the edge of the plain about a hundred yards from the river. At the end of these cross-streets the land drops down rather sharply for twenty feet or more, and from this point slopes gradually to the water. Upon this second level a few houses were scattered about without reference to the line of streets above. At advantageous spots rifle pits had been constructed which, with existing walls and the cellars along the bluffs, afforded good shelter for sharpshooters, and commanded all the approaches to the city.

For the first and only time during the war, Burnside was to attempt the crossing of a navigable river in face of a powerful army and offer battle upon the hither bank. To bridge it, in case of no opposition, would be the work of only two or three hours, but the problem was an entirely different one when keen-sighted riflemen in places of security were ready to shoot down every bridge builder who should attempt to anchor a boat or lay a plank. To effect a speedy crossing every precaution had been taken, and pre-



FREDERICKSBURG

(The Regiment crossed the river at the extreme right of the picture)

parations on an extensive scale had been made. During the night one hundred and forty-seven guns had been placed upon the most eligible and commanding sites under the superintendence of General Hunt, the chief of artillery. General Woodbury, commanding the engineer brigade, had landed four bridge trains upon the river bank by three o'clock on the morning of the 11th. His orders were to lay two bridges near the rope-ferry at the upper end of the city, one at the steamboat landing at the lower end, and one at the mouth of Deep Run for the accommodation of General Franklin. Besides the artillery upon the heights, the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-sixth New York were sent to the Lacy house to protect the engineers in their work near that point, and the Eighty-ninth New York to a spot opposite the steamboat landing. Under the cover of darkness the engineers hauled the boats into the river, anchored many of them in the right positions, and had completed the three bridges beyond the centre of the stream, when the Mississippi riflemen drove them to the land. Neither artillery nor infantry were able to silence their fire or to give adequate protection to the engineers. A dense fog rendered every object invisible a few rods away, but the position of the bridge builders was sufficiently indicated by the noise necessarily made in work of this kind. The men were clustered together on the end of the bridge fronting the enemy; and although sighting was impossible, yet one bullet out of many was sure to find its victim. It was impossible to keep men at work under such circumstances, and from the first firing until three o'clock in the afternoon, not an additional plank was added to any one of the three bridges leading to the city. During this period, however, the engineers four times attempted to resume

work, and as many times were driven back. Thirty-six guns were brought from the bluff down to the river bank, and for half an hour kept up a rapid cannonade upon the covers behind which the sharpshooters were concealed, which appeared to silence their fire; but the moment any one took up a plank or resumed work of any kind, it broke out again with redoubled violence.

At noon the fog lifted, and every object upon the further side of the river became plainly visible. It was thought, with the terrible fire that could be concentrated upon a narrow space, that no one could live under it; but cannon balls spent their fury in vain and minnie balls rained against the bluff and pattered against the houses to no purpose. The men of the line, who do the most serious part in every war, are apt to look upon those assigned to special duties, like engineers, as lacking in the high courage which they consider as belonging to themselves alone. Eighty of this class from the Eighth Connecticut volunteered to finish the upper bridge, but they had not got half over the partly finished structure before they, too, retreated, carrying their wounded comrades along with them.

For nine hours General Barksdale had stood in the way and stopped the movement of the great army. In two wars the riflemen of Mississippi had been famous for their bravery and the skill and accuracy with which they used their rifles. Here again they gained new laurels, winning applause from both friend and foe.

At four o'clock in the morning Colonel Fizer of the Seventeenth Mississippi went to the station at the rope-ferry and assumed the command. He had under him seven companies of his own regiment. First

notifying the few remaining families to remove at once beyond the line of danger, he posted his men in the cellars of houses with windows looking upon the river, in pits that had been prepared on different commanding sites, behind walls, and under such other natural or artificial covers as the place afforded. Reënforced at five o'clock by a part of the Eighth Florida, and at two in the afternoon by ten sharpshooters of the Thirteenth Mississippi, with this force he had been able to cover the two bridges with so sharp a fire that their construction, under the methods thus far tried, was abandoned. Captain Govan, at the steamboat landing, with three companies from the Seventeenth Mississippi and three from the Eighteenth Mississippi and part of the Eighth Florida, had been equally successful.

The officers of the engineer brigade and all those who had witnessed the repeated failure at the two crossings were unable to suggest any way of overcoming the opposition, which had thus far paralyzed their efforts, when General Hunt, the chief of artillery, suggested the happy thought of sending men over in open pontoon boats and driving the enemy away. Fifty men from the engineer corps had already fallen, and many officers and men from the supporting regiments had been killed or wounded, including the colonels of the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-sixth New York.

Colonel Hall, commanding the brigade with which the Twentieth was connected, that had been selected to lead the army into Fredericksburg, had designated the Twentieth Regiment to march at its head, but the want of a bridge interfered with this formal part of the arrangement. The regiment therefore remained for several hours at the Lacy house in full view of what

had taken place at the river. When General Hunt's plan was suggested, the Seventh Michigan (Colonel Hall's regiment) volunteered for this perilous duty. It was arranged that, under the protection of a rapid and continuous artillery fire, the pontoon boats should be pushed into the river, and the troops rowed across by men from the engineer corps. The enemy, discovering this new movement, opened fire, and at the first shot the rowers ran away. There were many men from Michigan accustomed to handle the oar, and some of these, taking the place of the engineers, as soon as a boat was loaded rowed into the stream and waited there until a sufficient number had been filled, when all pushed across as quickly as possible. Officers and men sprang to land, and with little attention to the formation of a perfect alignment, rushed upon the houses on the lower plain and quickly cleared them of the enemy. In this first dash thirty-one prisoners were taken and a firm lodgment secured. There were less than seventy men yet across, and as swiftly as boats could be moved the remainder of the regiment was sent to aid them in holding their ground. On the return of the boats the Nineteenth Massachusetts was sent over, which took position upon the right, as the Seventh Michigan had moved down below the point of its landing.

By securing the houses nearest the river, the fire of the enemy had been materially lessened; but owing to the absence of General Woodbury, or some other unknown reason, work upon the bridges was not immediately resumed. The Twentieth, still at the Lacy house, had been directed to pass over on the first completed bridge, but in such an emergency, time being all important, Captain Macy, acting as colonel, and Captain Abbott, as major, took it

over in boats, and formed it in line as a cover and protection to the bridges. There was some fear lest, remembering the experience in crossing the Potomac a year previous at Ball's Bluff, there might be some distrust manifested in a situation quite similar, but one of apparent greater difficulty and danger; but this was instantly dissipated as the men cheerily jumped into the boats and put a trackless path between them and the Stafford shore.

There was an incident connected with the crossing of the Seventh Michigan which has been told before, but cannot be repeated too often. Robert H. Henderson, twelve years of age that day, a drummer boy of the regiment, desiring to make his birthday memorable, jumped into one of the boats when he was ordered out by the captain. Still desiring to do something of service, he got permission to push one of the boats off from shore, and as it slid into the stream he clung to the stern and was dragged through the water to the other side. Running up the bank with the men, his drum was broken by a piece of shell; thereupon he discarded it as useless, picked up a musket dropped by one who had been killed, and fought in the ranks the remainder of the day.

As soon as the first bridge was laid, the remainder of the brigade passed over, consisting of the Forty-second and Fifty-ninth New York and the One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania. At this time only a narrow strand by the river had been gained, useful as a starting point for a further advance. From the time the first detachment had landed there had been a constant fire kept up upon it by the enemy, who occupied the higher ground and the whole upper part of the city. Though dispos-

sessed of a little ground, there was no disposition for yielding more. The advantage of position and the command of a superior force was still in favor of the enemy. The remainder of Howard's division was pressing forward, and it was necessary to gain more room, without delay, to prevent the danger of a panic, which might easily be created in a large mass of men crowded together in a narrow space by the river.

Covering that part of the city fronting the upper bridges were one hundred and fifty men of the Eighth Florida, seven companies of the Seventeenth, the left wing of the Twenty-first, and the Thirteenth Mississippi, making in all about fifteen hundred. The Eighth Florida and the seven companies of the Seventeenth Mississippi were occupying the houses, yards, and gardens near the river; the Thirteenth Mississippi was in line on Caroline Street; one company of the Twenty-first Mississippi was on the edge of the bluff at the foot of Williams Street; another company of the same regiment was at the foot of Hanover Street; and three companies were on Water Street, and the remainder in reserve at the market house.

Though the promise given to the Twentieth Massachusetts to lead the advance into Fredericksburg was not literally kept, yet it was in effect, though in a way not thought of at the time the promise was given. The regiment was now ordered to gain possession of the city and clear the way for the division to come forward. To protect the flanks a skirmish line from other regiments was organized, but this force was of no service, and could make no headway. The Forty-second New York was directed to move forward at the same time on a parallel street

FARQUHAR STREET, SCENE OF THE TWENTIETH'S CHARGE

to the left; but from fear of confusion and the firing of one into the other, it was decided, at the last moment, that the Twentieth should start alone. It numbered three hundred and seven, including officers and men. In the early dusk of a short December day it moved up the bank to enter the thickly built portion of the city. This was the first and proved to be the only instance in the war of a fierce and deadly contest for the control of a populous town. The whole army was waiting for one of its two hundred units to clear the path before it. To move in column against a line of breastworks, to charge a battery, to form in part a forlorn hope in some desperate encounter which may be necessary for the safety of an army, are among the trying duties which a soldier expects to be called upon to perform; but generally, even in infrequent cases like these, it is to meet dangers that can be seen and partially measured, and thus in a degree he is able to prepare himself for the trial, however great and however hazardous. But it is before dangers unseen and unknown, where the imagination is likely to prove more vivid than the will is strong, that brave men are liable to hold back and pause. For such work there must be a union of perfect leadership and perfect discipline. In the Twentieth these two requirements met. A moment's hesitation on the part of the commanding officer, a failure of intelligent or hearty support on the part of a single subordinate, would have made success impossible and failure certain.

Moving by the flank in fours, as the regiment entered the street it was met by a fire that came pouring down upon it from the troops in Water Street and from the houses on either side. A citizen

who was unwillingly acting as guide was killed at the head of the column by the first volley. Its own instinct thereafter pointed out the way. As the length of the line presented too broad a mark to the enemy on either flank, without pausing, Captain Macy threw the regiment into platoons, and then at a charge led it against the three companies of the Twenty-first Mississippi, blocking the front on Water Street, which did not wait to encounter its bayonets; then straight forward to Caroline Street, where one wing under Macy turned to the right, and the other, under Abbott, turned to the left, whence it drove into retreat the Thirteenth Mississippi, and having gained sufficient distance, positions were taken and held until relieved by other troops of the division. The contest was now ended. Though there was still some firing after Caroline Street was gained, there was no serious attempt to dispute the control of that part of the city which the regiment had won; and soon after the whole of Barksdale's command retired from the town.

The service here rendered by the regiment won the applause of the whole army. Those who witnessed its advance through the street, lighted up by the flash of muskets from the windows and doorways of the houses on either side, from behind every cover that could hide and protect an enemy, while a sheet of flame brought into clearest outline the two battalions at the crossing of Farquhar and Caroline streets, that seemed almost literally to wipe out the leading platoon at every volley, witnessed a spectacle at once appalling and sublime. Not at Stony Point under Mad Anthony Wayne, not at Lodi under Napoleon, nor at Balaklava in the charge of the Six Hundred, was there a finer exhibition of

what native valor and patriotic devotion can accomplish, when moulded and welded into a disciplined mass, and led by men worthy of such a corps. Colonel Hall, under whose orders the regiment was acting, said in his official report: "I cannot presume to express all that is due the officers and men of this regiment for the unflinching bravery and splendid discipline shown in the execution of the order. Platoon after platoon was swept away, but the head of the column did not falter. Ninety-seven officers and men were killed or wounded in the space of about fifty yards."

The Confederate accounts do not materially differ from what has been here claimed, and when critically examined and compared, in effect confirm it. General Barksdale, who was subsequently killed at Gettysburg, left no written record of the operations of his brigade. Colonel Fizer of the Seventeenth Mississippi, claiming that his regiment nine times drove the enemy from the bridges and remained for twelve hours under the fire of artillery and sharpshooters, reports that about 4.30 P. M. the batteries became so numerous and concentrated that his men could not use their rifles, and he was compelled to fall back to Caroline Street, and from there was ordered from town. This is not quite candid or correct. No mention whatever is made of the river having been crossed, or the manner of it. No allusion is made to the conflict with the Twentieth Massachusetts or other troops on the Fredericksburg side of the river, and the natural inference drawn from the whole report is that he withdrew by reason of the rapid fire of the batteries and the sharpshooters on the Stafford shore after the loss of one hundred and sixteen men. Colonel

Humphrey of the Twenty-first Mississippi reports that he was ordered to advance to assist the Thirteenth and Seventeenth regiments, which were then engaged with the enemy, who had already succeeded in crossing. He claims that meeting on Caroline Street three of his companies that were retreating, bearing along the body of one of their captains, he there made a stand and drove the enemy off the streets back toward the bridge, and held them in check until about seven o'clock. Colonel Carter of the Thirteenth Mississippi says in his report that he was proceeding towards the river to assist Colonel Fizer when he met him retiring, being unable to hold his position, and that they both retired to the market house. He was then ordered to form his regiment on Caroline Street, which he was unable to do, for the reason that it was held by the enemy. He then took up a position on Princess Anne Street, covering as many of the cross-streets leading to the river as possible, and at once entered into an engagement with the enemy, which continued for two hours, when he received an order to retire from the town, "which order," he says, "I promptly obeyed." It is evident that these three officers wrote their reports without consulting with one another. The contradictions between them are not greater than are often seen, and arise from the willingness on the part of officers to disregard the sequence and logic of events in order to give a favorable coloring to the operations of their commands. Nothing is more certain than that Colonel Humphrey was drawing upon his imagination, and not reporting what his eyes saw, when he claimed that he held Caroline Street and drove the regiment off towards the bridge. This street runs between Water and Prin-

cess Anne Street, and as Colonel Carter found the former occupied by Federal troops, and does not claim to have been able to dispossess them of it, the statements of Colonel Humphrey are shown by his own friends to be fictitious.

The three regiments sent to guard the lower crossings were unable, owing to the nature of the ground, to offer a successful opposition to the laying of the bridges, and by nine o'clock in the forenoon one of them was completed, while soon after two more were laid. General Franklin was ordered to remain on the Stafford side until the upper bridges were finished. One hundred men from the Eighty-ninth New York crossed the river in four boats near the steamboat landing a short time after the Seventh Michigan, with a loss of one killed and nine wounded. As each detachment landed, it charged and took a designated point, capturing sixty-five prisoners. The remainder of the regiment passed over in the same way and gained possession of the lower part of the town with little opposition, and held it until other troops arrived over the finished bridge. To gain a day's time General Lee had sacrificed three hundred and thirty-nine men, and the price paid was small indeed. The Federal loss for the day cannot be accurately stated, but about half of it fell on the Twentieth Regiment.

By nine o'clock Fredericksburg was in the undisputed control of the Union forces, and was held during the night by Howard's division and by Hawkins's brigade of the Ninth Corps. General Devens's brigade from Franklin's command crossed at the lower bridge, and alone held that section of the field in front of the enemy, but no connection was made between the two.

Fortunately the duty of establishing a picket line

around the city fell upon other forces, and the regiment was allowed to gain such rest as it could after the struggles of the day. There was much in the situation to stir the imagination, excite distrust, and create disquietude in the minds of all, but especially among those who had had experience of having a river behind and an enterprising foe in front.

The city, with its maze of unknown streets, was mostly deserted, but there are always a certain few — the sick, the poor, and the unfortunate — who cannot escape from a threatened calamity however great it may be. There were some of this class who had concealed themselves as best they could during the bombardment, and when night came they stole out of their hiding places to breathe the upper air. A light here and there behind closed casements indicated the abodes of such; others less bold feared to show a light. The streets were in utter darkness, save where the soldiers were preparing their evening meal. For a mile along Caroline Street hundreds of little fires had been started and kept alive from the neighboring fences, around which groups of men were gathered, some walking about, others sitting on the curbstones, eating, drinking, smoking, talking a little, but in low tones, with minds intent to catch the first notes indicative of approaching danger. Some of the hardy men of the Eighty-ninth New York, after they had made their position secure from the steamboat landing, had made excursions into the houses for something better than soldiers' fare and had returned with a fair measure of success. One of these was sitting beside a little fire, on which a pot of coffee was cheerily boiling and bubbling; and with a nicely roasted chicken upon his plate, and a jar of jelly by his side, he ate and

drank in turn, and, as he took the cup from his lips, coolly placed it on the dead body of a Confederate which was lying conveniently by. To such a point will the rough experiences of warfare carry us, that the soldier in his banquet hall can thus use the bodies of the dead, without the least apparent shock to his sensibilities or any loss to his appetite.

The day, which had been warm and pleasant, had grown suddenly cold on the going down of the sun. The advance couriers of what was to be a blinding fog were already filling the air with their sharp needle points that pierced through to the skin and dimmed the light of the stars. Objects began to grow more and more obscure and to take on fantastic shapes such as wander at times through the realms of dreamland. When the fires went out nothing could be seen, and the city was covered with a blanket of darkness. The eye was no longer of use to guide, and every faculty, except those of hearing and feeling, appeared to have been lost. If in the sudden flashing up of an ember a group of soldiers was seen, they appeared only as ghosts, and like ghosts as suddenly disappeared. It was altogether a strange, unnatural, and memorable night. Somewhere on the plain, near the picket line, a building was fired, and the flames, leaping straight up through the motionless air, shook their great folds, giving out sounds not unlike pistol shots. In the wide circle of light which they made, the enemy were able to see some of our pickets, upon whom they opened fire, which at once dispelled the illusion, which had circulated as a rumor, that Lee had commenced a retreat soon after the crossing was effected. As the army was in preparation for battle, officers and men were without tents, and were in

line along the streets parallel to the river, in readiness for a probable night attack. To camp in the houses was prohibited, and, as the danger of it was apparent to all, but little disposition was shown to disobey the order. Sleep and rest under these circumstances were nearly out of the question, and the night dragged slowly and heavily along. The coming of day was most joyously hailed for the relief it brought from an anxiety which was intense but not overwrought.

In the first light the men roamed about the city, took in its dimensions, learned the streets, the system on which they were constructed, and formed an estimate of the value of their conquest. At first sight it did not seem to be a great prize, nor did it rise in value upon a longer acquaintance. Though Washington had spent a part of his youth here and his mother was buried in a near-by cemetery, these facts did not appeal to them. It was a city conquered from the Confederacy, and there was no little satisfaction in the punishment it had received. Though the order of Burnside to batter it down had not literally been complied with, yet the destruction wrought by a hundred guns during a bombardment lasting ten or twelve hours was not small. The upper and lower sections had suffered most, but no part was free from wounds. There was scarcely a building, from one end to the other, which thousands of missiles sent at random did not find out and enter. Ninety-eight cannon balls had struck the front alone of a private residence on Caroline Street; many others received nearly as bad treatment. The town could not boast of a whole window. Chimneys toppling down had broken through the roofs of many homes and scattered their débris of brick and mor-

tar in the yards and over the sidewalks. All were tenantless and untenantable. Yards and gardens that had been the pride of families were scenes of destruction and ruin, scattered over with splintered trellises, ornamental vases, uprooted shrubbery, and the great arms of trees that had furnished a grateful shade to successive generations of owners. To these inanimate objects time and labor would bring their healing; but in the wide-reaching destruction of war, they share in its waste and heighten the picture of its desolation. The bodies of cats and dogs were scattered through the streets, in the yards, inside the houses, and some were lying on the doorsteps of their masters' houses. Hens and chickens had been shot in their coops. A dove circling high in frenzied fright over the city had lost a wing from an exploding shell and fell fluttering to the ground. More pathetic still was the sight of a beautiful heifer standing on three legs in front of the accustomed bars, her large soft eyes asking relief from suffering which a friendly bullet soon gave. Scores of Confederate dead had been left in every part of the town, lying where the deadly bullet or the ragged shell had struck them. By the side of a large oaken log, squared by an adze, was a beardless boy from Mississippi whose head had been carried away by a round shot, and there was probably no one to tell his father that it left evidence in its course that he had died facing his foes. The details of all that befell this hapless city would fill a volume, and so only an attempt to state its broad outlines is made here.

There is nothing more noticeable than the quick way in which an army shifts its moods, passing in a moment from the sad and solemn into the spirit of fun and frolic. The music at a soldier's funeral is

the emblem of his life. Shadow does not give way to sunshine more readily than tears to smiles. After a sombre and anxious night there was need of relaxation, and the men took it. There was no nook or corner in Fredericksburg which they did not explore to discover its mysteries. All at once the city became vocal with music. There were many pianos left behind, most of which had been sadly knocked out of tune, but they served very well for a rough kind of "Yankee Doodle" or "Star Spangled Banner." From a rebel stronghold Fredericksburg had been converted into a centre of loyalty. The streets were resonant with a chorus of voices that poured forth patriotic songs which may have reached the ears of anxious waiters on the Marye and Willis heights. Clothed in the costumes of Virginia that were in fashion in the days of Mary Washington, a procession marched along the line with all the fun and frolic of Harlequin in his happiest mood. An old family coach, a relic of colonial days, with its yellow body resting on untrusty thorough-braces, its artistic ornamentation and gilding long since obscured and covered with dust, was hitched to a mule with ears so long that they dropped on either side of his head by mere force of their weight, and driven the length of Caroline Street by a soldier in the mask of a negro, with two representative belles of a by-gone age sitting on the back seat and scattering smiles and kisses to an applauding crowd. While this carnival was at its height, a swarm of Confederate skirmishers swept down close to the city's edge and sent a shower of bullets rattling down the streets. In an instant the revelers disappeared, the fun and frolic ceased, and the men, disrobed of their attire, hastened to their position in line with their trusty

CAROLINE STREET, FREDERICKSBURG

muskets in hand. A serious mood henceforth held sway.

During the morning other divisions of the army were passing over the bridges. By noon the fog had lifted; and as the long columns, dropping down from the Stafford Hill to the river, became visible, the Confederate artillery began to fire at them, which at once called out a reply from our guns, and a sharp duel was kept up during the greater part of the afternoon. The day was warm and sunny, with the bluest of skies overhead. Not a cloud was visible. The soldiers lounged about on the banks of the river and watched the practice of the cannoneers. The Stafford Heights, whose smooth and nicely rounded crest was capped with more than a hundred guns, rose a few hundred feet above the water level. Every object stood out clear and distinct against the blue sky, — the movements of the artillerymen, the little puffs of smoke that leaped forth so spitefully, and then sailed off so leisurely through the indolent air, the fierce rush of the shells, the savage recoil of the guns, and the quick spring of the men to prepare their grim pets for a renewal of the work of destruction. There was a fascination in the picture that grew in interest as the contest became warmer. The great guns began to appear like animate beings, interested in their work, tossing up their heads in the pride of conscious strength as they sent their ponderous bolts hurtling through the air straight in the teeth of their enemy. The men in their humorous way began to give names to their favorite pieces, and before long it was no longer guns, but "Old Rough and Ready," "Molly Stark," "John C. Heenan," "Ben Butler," "Rebellion Smasher," and a score of departed ex-presidents, that were thundering along the hills.

On the morning of the 13th the valley was again covered with a thin white fog that rendered objects invisible at a short distance. The whole of Sumner's grand division was then in the city, every street covered with infantry and numerous batteries, very few of which could be used. Franklin had also crossed, but Hooker's division was then on the other side. More than forty-eight hours had passed since the first pontoon was slid into the river, and it is needless to say that Lee had before this time brought his army together and placed it in its appointed position. All thought of a surprise had now been given over, and nothing remained but to retreat or fight a battle upon ground offering every facility for a successful defense. During the 12th no attempts had been made to reconnoitre to the front and ascertain what difficulties, if any, were in the way to prevent a deployment of the army. The picket line had been established close to the western edge of the town, and the existence of a canal but a few rods in front had not been discovered, which Burnside, who had been at least two weeks in Fredericksburg during the previous August, was ignorant of. The two streets running out of the city, nearly parallel with each other, crossed this canal, the planking of the bridges over which had been taken up, forcing the troops, on their advance, to walk over in single file on the stringers.

The battle was fought by the right and left wings of the army at points separated from each other by an interval of two miles, and by two streams of some importance flowing into the Rappahannock, which prevented the possibility of coöperation and rendered the reënforcement of either in case of necessity extremely difficult and hazardous. The general

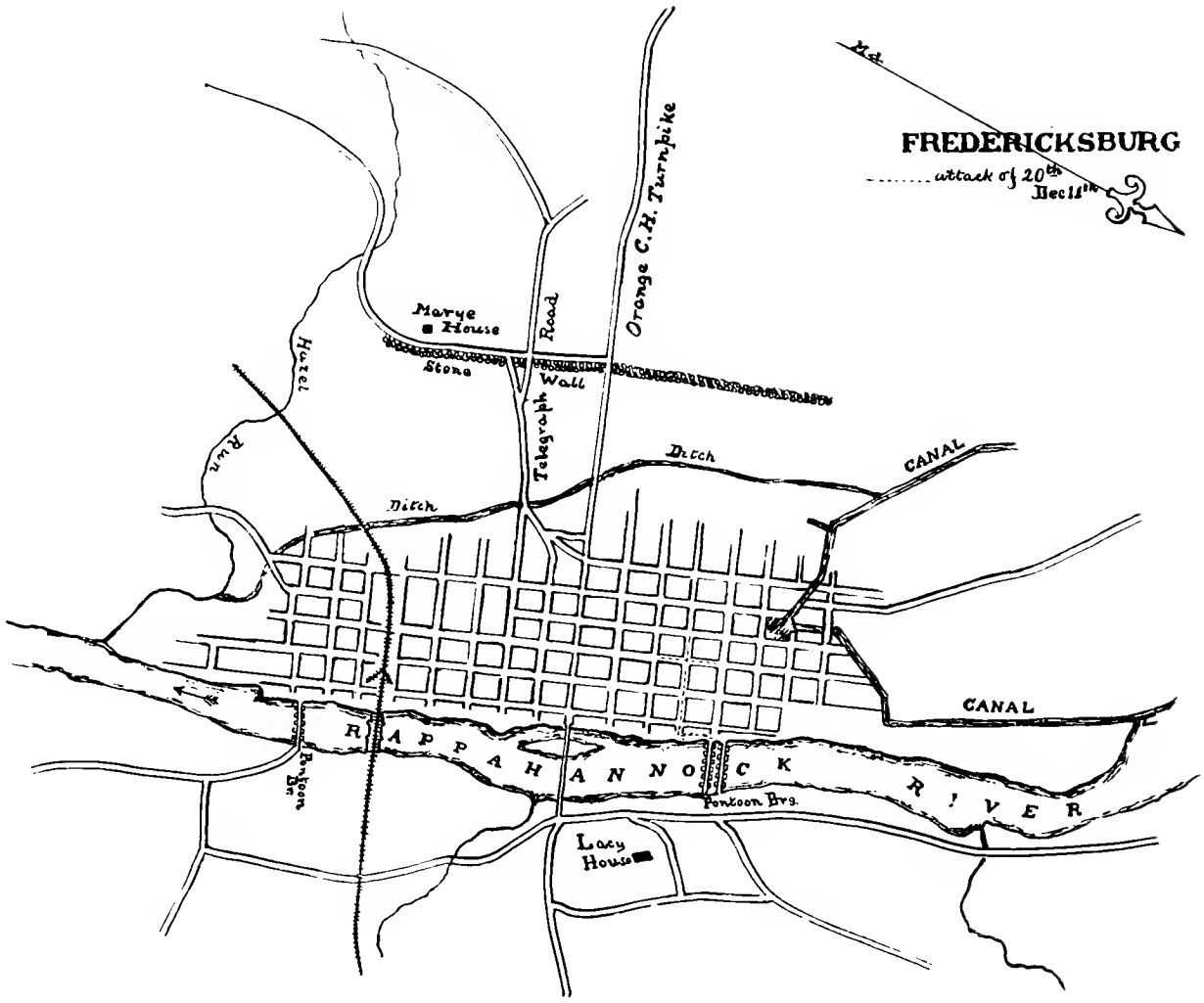
opinion among military men now is that Burnside placed the army on the right bank of the river without having formed any definite idea of what he was then to do with it, and finally adopted a course the least likely to win success. The Confederate Army was in line along the ridge that touches the Rappahannock a mile and a quarter above Fredericksburg, and from that point sweeps southeasterly in the shape of a gently bent bow for a distance of three miles to the Massaponax River. There was no part of it that did not present serious obstacles for an attacking army to overcome, and the Marye and Willis heights in front of the wing with which the Twentieth was connected were in themselves a challenge that any prudent commander would hesitate to accept.

About half past ten, as the fog was beginning to break, the first gun was heard and the smoke of an exploded shell was seen far away to the left in the direction of Hamilton's Crossing. It was evident that Franklin had commenced to move forward, for the shot came from a Confederate gun. In compliance with Burnside's written order to send a division at least for the purpose of seizing the high ground above the crossing at Hamilton's, General Meade's division was formed in battle order; but before it had made much progress, being exposed to a fire upon its left flank from some horse artillery in position near the Massaponax, it was obliged to halt and free itself from this annoyance. The position held by Jackson, in front of Franklin, being more open to attack than that held by Longstreet, was, however, only about half as long and enabled him to form four lines of battle nearly parallel to each other for its defense. As soon as Meade had driven off or

silenced the annoying artillery upon his left, his division was moved rapidly forward, and finally, at a charge, broke through A. P. Hill's division, capturing some standards and three hundred prisoners, when it was compelled to retire. Meade was supported on the right by Gibbon's division and on the left by other troops, but the force of his charge was broken before assistance was at hand, and after his repulse no other offensive movement of any importance was undertaken on that part of the field.

Before the failure of Franklin's attack was known at headquarters, Sumner, having received an order in almost the exact language of that given to the commander of the Left Grand Division, directed General Couch, commanding the Second Corps, to form a column of a division in three lines, covered by skirmishers in front and on either flank, for the purpose of seizing the heights in the rear of the town. A second division was to be formed in the same way to be ready to advance in support of the first. General French's division was selected to lead. It was obliged to move out of the city and over the canal by the flank, and was formed in the manner indicated in the order under the partial covering of a slight rise of ground a short distance nearer the enemy. Its right rested on the Telegraph Road. A little after twelve o'clock the order was given to advance; and as soon as it cleared the rising ground behind which it had formed, Hancock's division filed into the vacant space and formed the second column in support of the first. Soon after Sturgis's division of the Ninth Corps moved up to the left as a support to the assaulting columns.

The ground in front, as smooth as the glacis of a fort, rose in a gentle incline for about four hundred


FREDERICKSBURG
attack of 20th Dec 11th
Orange C.H. Turnpike
Marye House
Stone Wall
Telegraph Road
Hazel Run
Ditch
Ditch
CANAL
CANAL
R A P P A H A N N O C K R I V E R
Pontoon Brg.
Lacy House
Deep Run

yards to the stone wall in front of the Marye house, behind which the brigades of Cobb and Kenshaw stood in four ranks. There were some board fences that had to be leveled or surmounted, that caused delay, and were serious obstacles to a rapid advance. French's column moved forward with great gallantry, but it was moving to attack the left wing of a powerful army in a position of great natural strength carefully fortified, its concave line affording space for an unusual number of guns to bear upon it; and its force being expended about one hundred and twenty-five yards from the stone wall, the men instinctively dropped to the ground and commenced firing from their recumbent positions.

Hancock followed next after French, and through an inspiration which troops always receive from such a leader, his division passed beyond the line of the leading column, the farthest reach of this human wave being marked by a row of dead twenty-five yards from the stone wall. Here the men generally followed the example of the first column, though some of them under Colonel Brooke took possession of the few buildings at the forking of the Telegraph Road, and were able from a partial cover to maintain a close and successful fire against the infantry at the foot and the artillery on the summit of the Marye Hill.

Howard was now called upon, and he moved the brigades of Owen and Hall out of the city by Hanover Street in the above order. Colonel Hall halted his column for a short time in order that his troops might be able to pass rapidly from the town over the canal. Owen formed his brigade on the left of the Telegraph Road, and Colonel Hall was directed by Hancock to dash directly up this road. He formed

his command, consisting only of eight hundred men, in as broad a column as the street would allow, and marched a short distance in this formation, when by order of Couch it was placed in line to the right. The Twentieth held the right of the brigade, and during the charge that was made upon the rifle-pits of the enemy the heaviest fire of infantry and artillery fell upon it. Every other part of the brigade faltered and fell back under a deadly shower of bullets, and the regiment stood alone. Colonel Hall succeeded in bringing back the other parts of the brigade, when a second advance was made; but a successful charge was hopeless by a force now reduced to four or five hundred where a column of five thousand had twice failed. What was left of this force joined with the remnants of other commands and held a position well up to the enemy until relieved during the night. Colonel Hall in his report of this charge speaks as follows of the conduct of the Twentieth: "A portion of the Seventh Michigan, Forty-second and Forty-ninth New York fell back, as did the Nineteenth Massachusetts a moment later. The Twentieth Massachusetts stood firm and returned the fire of the enemy until I had reformed the line and commenced a second advance. The advance was renewed in fine style by the whole line, but gave way from the left. The Twentieth Massachusetts showed the matchless courage and discipline evinced on the previous day." Twice in a single battle was the regiment singled out from the others of the brigade for commendation, in the words quoted, by their commander.

General Hooker, who had remained at the Lacy house, was now sent over with the Fifth Corps. As he rode over the pontoon bridge on his splendid white

horse, he was greeted with loud cheering from the men on the river bank. His reputation for personal bravery was well established, and this tribute was given him for qualities which soldiers most admire. He proceeded out upon the plain, and, after carefully examining the field and consulting with the officers whose opinions he respected, was so much impressed with the folly of continuing the battle, and so apprehensive of the possibility of a serious disaster to the army in the narrow and dangerous position in which it was placed, that he sent one of his staff back to express his opinion to Burnside that he should desist and withdraw across the river.

Thinking his presence might be more effective, while Butterfield's divisions were crossing, he rode back to the Lacy house and told Burnside with emphasis that the troops were being uselessly sacrificed; but these words of truth and wisdom were spoken to ears that were sealed to sound advice, and the response was that the attack must and should be continued. Hooker, irritated, discouraged, sick at heart, in a spirit of revolt against the order which made him the unwilling instrument of sending to their death hundreds of his brave men, returned to perform, as best he could, what must have been the most painful duty of his life. Failure as it was, when this act of his was known, it increased his popularity, and was of service in the great work that soon devolved upon him of restoring the morale of the army, which was so much impaired by all the circumstances surrounding the battle.

Having sent Griffin's division to the support of the Ninth Corps, Hooker formed Humphreys's division, composed of nine-months men, in the depression beyond the canal, with Sykes upon the right

for support. The four most accomplished officers of the army, Meade, Reynolds, Hancock, and Humphreys, were all Pennsylvanians, each remarkable for personal gallantry, as well as for those higher qualities that mark the man born to command. Humphreys personally led forward Allaback's brigade, and then Tyler's; and though many exhibitions of heroism were witnessed that day, nothing was seen that excited more admiration than the charge of this division.

There have been many scenes of striking and tragic interest upon battlefields, pictures of the grand and heroic type which are only presented by war, but it may well be doubted if at any place or at any time has been seen anything calculated to leave a stronger or more lasting impression upon the mind than what met the eye of every beholder during the last moments of the battle of Fredericksburg.

The sun was just setting as Tyler's brigade and Getty's division were moving forward to ground from which the last charge was made. Through a cloudless sky from zenith to horizon it had looked down upon that ensanguined field and caught its color of crimson and of red. Thirty thousand men, lying upon the ground between the Telegraph Road and Hazel Run, amid seven thousand dead and wounded, streaking it with broken lines and mottling it with patches of blue, watched the broad shadows creeping down the plain and bid them hasten — saw the blood-red sun pausing above the hills and wished it gone — saw the dusk come on and thought it slow in its coming — saw the hills lifting up higher in the evening gloom and looking down upon them with a more savage frown — saw the

red earth epaulements turn to dusky brown and lose the sharpness of their outlines — saw the day fade into night and all the stars come out — felt the air grow cold and the earth freeze; and while this transformation was going on and not yet completed, heard the tread of armed men behind as Humphreys led his last brigade up and through them to reach a goal so many had sought before in vain.

The broken lines and patches of blue were no longer visible, for the night had given to every object something of its own coloring and turned the Marye and Willis heights into a wall of blackness, that stood out as an impassable barrier to the west. The battle which had been waged with fierceness through the day, with the coming on of evening assumed such intensity as if passions more than human were urging it on. The hour for order and command was succeeded by an hour of living fury, which converted a vast field into a ferocious storm of battle, to which the elements of earth and air lent their aid to heighten the horror and sublimity of the scene. In quick succession, so quick that they seemed almost continuous, sheets of flame flashed along the lines a mile in length, cleaving the darkness with wedges of light, that leaped forward and sprang back like the flying shuttles of a loom. All the while from the higher levels of the hills the artillery was thundering out its shot and shell, and at every discharge the great black guns stood out, and the grimy features of eager men hurrying about them to gather in new sheaves to the rich harvest already reaped. In this whirlpool of strife men fell unheeded, regiments crumbled away, batteries of artillery were overthrown, while others, drawn by horses of seemingly supernatural strength and beauty, dashed forward into the line

of light to rekindle at fearful sacrifice the decaying fire.

Then all at once and unheralded the battle ended, the tumult ceased, and the wounded army was permitted to gain such rest as a field held and a battle lost afford.

During the night a large part of the forces were withdrawn from the front line to the city, and the wounded were gathered up and cared for in the houses. Most of the buildings were converted into hospitals, and there were at least six thousand, a larger number than the ordinary population of the place, to be provided for.

The 14th was Sunday, and a busy day it was for the surgeons, whose operating tables were everywhere visible through the broken windows. During the whole day their work went on, and never before had this feature of war been so exposed to view. It was this in part which had such a depressing effect upon the army, which soon revealed itself. In every street a long line of white-robed ambulances were busy from morning till night in carrying the wounded across the river. The bridges were crowded with them going and coming, and at no time was the file broken as they toiled up the Stafford hills with their freight of human sufferers.

It was known that Burnside had ordered that another attempt should be made the next day to carry the heights; and as the men had formed their opinion that it would fail, this cast a shadow over them, and though the sun was bright and the air warm, it could not dispel the gloom that filled the place and was reflected from every countenance. Fortunately the advice of General Sumner prevailed, and during the night of the 16th the army was

withdrawn across the river, the bridges were taken up, and the Twentieth marched in a drizzling rain back to camp, where it remained for about a month.

The casualities in the regiment were over thirty per cent of its strength on the 11th and a little more than thirty-three per cent on the 13th, but are consolidated here for the entire battle as follows: —

COMPANY A. Killed: Privates Benjamin F. Bumpus, James Cauraugh, Benjamin D. Clifton, Jonathan Francis. Wounded: Privates Oliver S. Bates, Benjamin B. Besse, Joshua Besse, 2d, David G. Chapman, George H. Curtis, Thomas W Green, Thomas C. Tiernan, Lyman P Tilton.

COMPANY B. Killed: Private Andreas Wilhelm. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Henry E. Wilkins; Sergeant Frederick A. Schoof; Privates Samuel Elliott, Jacob Getz, Pankratz Herbst, Frederick Karcher, Herman O. Schieferdecker.

COMPANY C. Killed: Captain Ferdinand Dreher; Corporal Anton Steffens; Privates Frederick W Bushe, James Meghan. Wounded: Sergeant Albert Reiss; Corporal Charles Light; Privates Leopold Bender, Joseph Heim, William Leiblein, Franz Minuty, Patrick Murphy.

COMPANY D. Killed: Corporal Richard Hawkins; Privates Daniel W Borden, William Calon, Charles Cero, James Donahue, Junius J. Johnson, Josiah Proctor. Wounded: First Lieutenant Arthur R. Curtis; Sergeant Horace A. Derry; Corporals Charles J. Curtis, Alden H. Holbrook, Robert Hart; Privates John Dag, John Devine, James Dow, Job W Dupee, Francis Giesler, Joseph H. Jordan, John Leyson, James P McVey, David Murphy, Andrew Phillips.

COMPANY E. Killed: Corporal John McIntire; Private William Tootell. Wounded: Sergeant Martin F. Davis; Corporal James Corcoran; Privates Eugene Conners, Thomas Conway. John Fenton, Owen Hirl, Edward S. Stockwell, Michael S. Sullivan.

COMPANY F. Killed: Captain Charles F. Cabot; Privates Thomas Downey, Nathaniel F. Hooper, Daniel O'Brien,

James Sullivan, Thomas Kelly. Wounded: Corporal John Cummings; Privates James Carroll, Simon Cass, Dennis Collins, Daniel Daley, Timothy Hartnett, James Long, James McGregor, James McGuire, Thomas McGuire, John McLean, Patrick O'Hearn, Patrick O'Leary, Patrick Quinlan, Felix Riley, Morris Rowland.

COMPANY G. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Thomas M. McKay; Color Corporal Charles H. Hunt; Corporal John Powers; Privates Frank A. Bernenher, Daniel Casey, William Casey, Ezra .D Chace, John Driscoll, M. H. Krook, James M'Ginness, Michael Pentonay, Morgan Sweeney.

COMPANY H. Killed: Second Lieutenant Robert S. Beckwith; Privates Thomas Donnelly, William Tasker. Wounded: Sergeant William Powers; Corporal Joseph P. Powers; Privates Edwin F. Briggs, William Duffie, R. S. Gardner, Gardner Goodwin, Bernard Harkins, Peter Kelty, Andrew Kerwick, Stephen Longfellow, Donald McPhee, Tolman C. Richards, John C. Sloeman, James A. Smith.

COMPANY I. Killed: Second Lieutenant Leander F. Alley; Corporal Peleg B. Davenport; Privates Alonzo Arling, Isaac S. Barker, Joseph Berry, James Briody, John Dacy, Charles F. Ellis, Martin V Kempton, Peter McEnany, Charles A. Morris, George E. Snow, Jacob G. Swain, William H. Swain, William H. Welcome, William H. Winslow, Ezekiel L. Woodward. Wounded: Privates Frederick W Barnard, James H. Bartlett, Daniel B. Chase, George H. Coffin, Edward P. Greene, James Kearns, Benjamin N. Luce, Miles Muldoon, Josiah F. Murphey, Owen Murphy, John O'Connor, Edward L. Orpins, Albert C. Parker, Thomas J. Russell, John Ryan, Gottlieb Sessler, Charles F. Swain, Patrick Waters, John Wells, Alexander Winthrop.

COMPANY K. Killed: Corporals George Blankinburg, Thomas J. Crowell; Privates Thomas Carver, John Donnelly, Charles S. Hastings. Wounded: Captain Allen Shepard, Sergeant P. J. Campion; Privates James Blake, Henry F. Dana, John Dillon, Thomas Flanagan, Patrick Morrissy.

CHAPTER X

WINTER ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK

THE Army of the Potomac saw the first year of its active life about to close with results far different from its early hopes and expectations. In the retrospect there was little to cheer and much to dishearten. Its victories had been few and its defeats many. Containing, as it did, many men in the ranks of a high order of intelligence, the causes of their failure were eagerly discussed, and in their minds decided. Every little shelter tent was in turn converted into a council of war, and the decisions there made became the general opinion of all.

The men were unwilling to admit that they were inferior to the enemy in courage or less skilled in the use of the musket, and the conclusion inevitably followed that the fault lay in the manner in which they were commanded. And they were correct.

It had not escaped the observation of those clear-sighted soldiers that, though the army was larger than that of the enemy, they always had the longest battle line and the most men at the point of actual contact. This was not an isolated fact but the general rule. There were not wanting those familiar with the maxim of Napoleon, that the art of war consisted in having the larger number of men and guns to bear upon a given point, and in this they recognized that Lee was superior to those under whom they had served. They recalled that on the peninsula

two corps had been sent across the Chickahominy, and so scattered that the advanced division of Casey had been attacked and utterly routed before aid could be brought up in its support; that later the Fifth Corps had been left upon the opposite side of the same stream, and, though for two days it had been known that Lee was preparing to crush it, only a single division was sent to its succor until the evening of the second day's battle, when the lines had been broken and the retreat had commenced; that at Antietam the precious 16th of September had been lost by a fatal delay, and on the 17th the battle had been fought by successive detachments, and the same method had been adopted by another commander at Fredericksburg, while all the time their great opponent had been teaching them by different tactics how battles should be fought and how victories could be won. They had taken their places in the ranks with full knowledge that many lives would be sacrificed, at which there was no repining; but to engage in battle after battle that seemed to be destroying and not assisting the cause for which they had enlisted, was disheartening and depressing in a high degree. The culmination of this feeling came with the battle of Fredericksburg. It was shown in the looks, the speech, and the conduct of the men. It varied in different regiments according to their discipline and the character of the officers in command, but none were absolutely free from it.

Soon after the 13th of December desertions grew more and more frequent, and at length assumed alarming proportions. Other men feigned sickness, and so successfully was this deception carried out that thousands imposed upon the surgeons and secured discharges. How the army felt toward its commander

was made known to him when, shortly after, at a review, he was received with a frigid silence that caused many who shared the general feeling to be moved by pity for him. The path of duty was painfully apparent to the clear-sighted President, and on the 28th of January Burnside was removed.

Before this date, however, new fuel was added to the flame of discontent already existing. General Burnside felt keenly the failure which had befallen the army under his command, not so much for anything personal to himself, but for its effect on the country and the cause which he had so much at heart. There was no more pure-minded, loyal, and disinterested soldier in the service than General Burnside. Believing that his battle had been lost from the strength of the enemy's natural position, and doubtless not aware of the effect which his failure had produced in the army, on the 26th of December he issued preliminary orders for a new movement, which was stopped by a telegram from the President, upon representations made to him by several officers, who had sought his presence, that unless he interfered, a disaster of a magnitude to efface the memory of Fredericksburg would surely occur.

The army then remained quiet in camp until the 20th of January, when Hooker's and Franklin's Grand Divisions were actually set in motion on a plan quite similar to that inaugurated by Hooker the following May It was the intention to cross the Rappahannock at the United States and Banks's fords and place the four corps, to be followed by the other two, upon the left flank of the enemy, which would probably have brought on a battle somewhere between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Fortunately or unfortunately, in accordance with what would

have been the outcome of such a plan at that season and under existing conditions, a storm of great violence came on, almost as soon as the troops were on the march, and a presidential order was not necessary to put an end to the campaign. The mud did it. The sufferings of the troops engaged in what is known as the "Mud March" became proverbial.

The order dated the 28th of January, 1863, removing Burnside placed General Hooker in command. It also removed Generals Franklin, Smith, and Brooks. General Sumner at his own request was relieved at the same time and returned to his home in Syracuse, New York. He was the first commander of the Second Corps on its organization by the President, and had ever since remained with it, excepting during the short time he was in command of the Right Grand Division under Burnside. He was the oldest officer and the most striking figure in the army. He was known to every soldier in the corps. His white hair, eagle eye, erect form, and thin, eager face could not fail to attract the notice of one, no matter how large or distinguished the group about him. He was high-minded, loyal, laborious, faithful, almost rashly brave, and threw his whole soul and being into the cause without regard to personal consequences. It can well be said of General Edwin V. Sumner that he gave his life to the service of his country. He bade an affectionate farewell to his old corps, which he loved so well, and with disease already fastened upon him went home to die.

After the battle the regiment remained for some time in its old camp. On the 19th of December, Colonel Lee resigned on account of ill health, and Lieutenant-Colonel Palfrey was commissioned as colonel, but he was never able to report for duty. For

a month it was kept busy with drills, inspections, and reviews. On the 15th of January, 1863, Sergeant Weston of Company A was buried with military honors.

In recognition of the brilliant services of the regiment on the 11th and 13th of December, it was assigned to duty as provost guard in the town of Falmouth. On the 25th of January, it left the bleak hill which had been its home, with much satisfaction, and found comfortable quarters in the vacant houses at Falmouth. Captain O. W. Holmes, Jr., was appointed provost marshal.

New clothing was issued, and the men on duty were required to wear white gloves and paper collars. At guard mountings the neatest and best drilled soldiers were selected for guards and orderlies at headquarters, and there was great rivalry to secure these positions.

The little town of Falmouth, in which we were to preserve the peace and have our homes for several months, was situated a mile and a quarter above Fredericksburg on the northerly bank of the Rappahannock at the entrance to a ravine which cuts through the Stafford Hills, and rising gradually for a mile or more becomes merged in the general level of the plateau. A little stream meanders through it, and what in Virginia is called a road, both lost at the river, the latter reappearing again on the other side and leading to Fredericksburg. The Rappahannock, running through the hills above in a narrow channel, broadens out into a wide stream in front of Falmouth, flowing over a rocky bed with so thin a sheet of water, that during the greater part of the year one can walk dry shod across, so thick are the stones bedded between its shores; but it soon narrows, with a depth of flow sufficient to float ships of moderate draft. On

the bank of the river was an old grist mill which was used as a guard house, and sometimes for prayer meetings, past which the road ran over the rough uneven floor of the valley, on either side of which could be counted two dozen of houses or more of various sizes and construction, some abutting on the verge of the wagon ruts, and others farther back at all possible angles to its devious course. Out of it ran another road in an easterly direction, which finally surmounted the bluff, and came out near the Lacy house. Along it were scattered a few houses of more pretentious construction, in one of which, owned by Miss Dunbar, the field and staff officers took up their abode. Nearly opposite was the house of Mr. Duff Green, a name once potent in our political history.

The bluffs upon either side of the ravine were crowned with our artillery, which commanded the beautiful and crescent-shaped valley on the other side, encircled by the hills that abut upon the river and run along its western edge to the rear of Fredericksburg.

The duties assigned to the regiment were not arduous, and being comfortably housed, it was able to pass the coldest and most boisterous winter during the war under circumstances more favorable than was possible to the remainder of the army. The conduct of the men was so exemplary that officers of the regiment who have in recent years visited the little village found that among its citizens pleasant memories of their sojourning there still survived. Friendly relations were established and maintained between the pickets at the river, and the shallow ford furnished the way for frequent intercommunication. The usual exchange of newspapers was continued for some time, and many

pounds of coffee were exchanged on favorable terms for the always highly prized tobacco. The men generally met in the middle of the stream, but often they passed to either bank, and, were always allowed to return. When orders were issued prohibiting this friendly intercourse and the provost guards were instructed to rigidly enforce them, a ready wit was at hand that kept the letter of the law and still reaped the profit and pleasure of this attractive commerce. In some way a code of signals was devised that was understood by either party, and the Confederate soldier in this way would notify the Union trader that he was to send over a cargo of tobacco at a given hour and expected a return of a given quantity of sugar or coffee. At the right time of wind and tide he placed his little craft, well loaded and fitted with sails, in the stream, and watched her until she was safely docked upon the other side. In due time he was sure to receive notice that his vessel would start upon her return voyage, in order that he might be on hand to receive her.

Like all commercial transactions these ventures at times turned out badly, for sometimes a ship would be stranded on the rocks, and again, overturned and sunk during a squall. Notwithstanding such misadventures the lost ships were replaced and the line kept in operation until the cannon at Chancellorsville put an end to all friendly relations. Just what was the amount of this trade and on which side the balance was, in absence of custom-house records, it is not possible to state, but all of the pipes in the regiment were well supplied by it for many months.

The appointment of General Hooker was not received with enthusiasm except by the men of his old division. The army was not then in a mood to be

enthusiastic about any person or any thing. With Fredericksburg fresh in memory, the "Mud March" but just ended, and sickness, from want of proper sanitary regulations enforced, filling every hospital, it was too much to expect of discouraged men, to display emotions other than those that arose naturally from their surroundings. Hooker made a correct diagnosis of the disease with which the army was afflicted, and saw more clearly than any other the remedies necessary to restore it to vigorous health, and he at once commenced to apply them.

The organizations known as the Grand Divisions were discontinued and the corps became again the highest unit in the army. Much has been said and written of the perfect organization of the Army of the Potomac under McClellan, but there were many defects which were now rectified.

It was at this time that the question was often asked "Who ever saw a dead cavalry man?" As yet this important arm of the service had performed but little useful service. It had been scattered among the different corps, and so placed that it could not exert its strength, and its possibility of usefulness was frittered away. It was brought together under Hooker, organized into a corps of three divisions, and from this date its history may be said to have commenced.

It is not necessary to state how brilliant that history soon became, and what an important part the cavalry took in the subsequent history of the war.

The artillery also was reorganized, the batteries heretofore serving in divisions being consolidated into brigades, and one attached to each corps with a competent chief, which added much to its weight and efficiency.

The removal of the officers already mentioned resulted in many promotions which met with almost universal approval. General Reynolds became the permanent commander of the First Corps, Couch of the Second, Sickles of the Third, Meade of the Fifth, Sedgwick of the Sixth, and Stoneman of the Cavalry. During the winter the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were made part of the Army of the Potomac, to which Howard and Slocum were respectively assigned as commanders. Soon after the removal of Burnside the Ninth Corps was sent to Newport News, and subsequently to Vicksburg; and after serving with credit in that memorable siege and subsequently in Kentucky and East Tennessee, it again came back to join hands with its old comrades in the final struggle and the final triumph.

It was, however, to the Inspector General's Department that Hooker turned for the magic that was to bring the army back to life again. It was a magic wrought by persistent and systematic work, which in three months dispelled the clouds and restored the military spirit which was never dead but sleeping.

General Francis A. Walker, who was in a position to know and had an eye to observe, says that during this period the volunteer batteries were brought to the highest state of perfection, and that the keenest experts could not detect in the minutest detail of their equipment or in the skill of manœuvring and handling of the guns any difference between them and batteries of the Regular Army.

During these months the regiment, being upon special service, was in part exempt from the labors that fell upon the other commands. It patrolled a part of the river front in addition to other duties. It was as diligent in drill as any, and no labor was

spared to keep up its efficiency. Remembering his experience in Fredericksburg on the 11th of December, and thinking that there again or elsewhere similar occasions might occur, Captain Abbott instructed and drilled the men in street fighting, not from Casey's Tactics, but in a way that his common sense and observation taught him would be most useful. Though full of pride for what they had done, the men came to think they could do the same work over again even more successfully. This kind of pride and confidence is what wins success.

The routine of labor was rather monotonous, but there were happening from time to time incidents that were the occasion of merriment and furnished subjects of conversation when the men off duty were assembled in the evening around the fireplaces with which the houses of Virginia are alone equipped. One night the noted female spy, Belle Boyd, was caught while crossing the river in a man's clothing, and was kept awhile in the guard house by the river, and then sent to Washington. Some of the unruly and sporting men of the army were in the habit of setting up gambling places along the banks of the river under the bluffs, which went under the queer name of "Sweat-boards." The provost guards in making raids upon these establishments at times met with experiences as novel and exciting as any recorded in the annals of the police department of a large city. For a time after pay day fortunes were won and lost with the same facility and in the same spirit as in the days before and since the war.

The holidays came to bring their bit of mirth and pleasure. The New England soldier never forgot Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas appealed to all. Turkeys, chickens, and geese, all cooked, came in

by express in boxes from home, and tasted sweeter and more tender with the pleasant memories they brought. On New Year's many a poor fellow received its greetings for the last time. Washington's Birthday was celebrated almost in sight of his early home. The night before there was a good old-fashioned Northern snowstorm, and in the morning six inches of snow whitened the ground and glistened under a bright sun. It was perhaps the merriest day of the year. Snowballs flew as thick as cannon-balls in a first-class battle, and more were hit by them than in any battle of the war. There was not a man in the regiment whose uniform did not show a white scar as the result of the combat. By the Irish St. Patrick will never be forgotten wherever they are, and as an offset to their doleful surroundings they put in an added zest to the celebration of their patron saint's natal day. The onlookers enjoyed the sport, if they did not share in the sentiment of the occasion, for the Irish nature is so charged with hilarity and sportive mirth, that its overflow was sufficient to infect the crowd like a contagious disease.

Long and dreary as it was, the winter finally came to an end. The first notice of the changing season came, not in green grass and earliest flowers, but through the spring run of the fish into the river. The natives knew the day when the herring shot up the stream and when the shad were due. Food was so scarce in the Confederate camps during the winter of '63 that a new source of supply was received with gladness. Before the ice had ceased to form, the Confederate soldiers hauled their boats into the river, rowed out to the centre of the stream, and began to cast their seines. From Falmouth down towards Fredericksburg the water was fairly alive

with them. The men seemed to recognize a divided or disputed ownership in the Rappahannock, for they never passed beyond its centre, and seemed content with the wealth stored up for them in the western half. From morning until night they continued at this, one of the primitive occupations of man, and their well-loaded boats gave evidence that they had been rewarded for their toil. Though the opposite shore was lined with pickets carrying loaded rifles, there was no more thought of danger than if war and violence had been banished from the earth. During the furious bombardment of Fredericksburg on the 11th of the previous December, the men of the Twentieth and other regiments went constantly to the river to fill their canteens with water, in plain sight and within sure range of their rifles, but the Mississippians never fired a shot at them. It is pleasant to recall such incidents happening amid the fierce passions excited by the Civil War, and to do what this record can to make their memory perpetual. It is worth noting here that the Twentieth five times in battle met face to face and came into deadly conflict with the gallant men of this famous Mississippi brigade, which was one of the very best in the Army of Northern Virginia.

After the fish came the green grass and the flowers. The row of horse-chestnuts in front of the Dunbar mansion, the headquarters of the regiment, put out their leaves, the great elm at the corner threw a grateful shade over it, and the trees in the back yard, whose trunks were covered with English ivy, furnished a pleasant retreat during the heated hours of the day. Across the river the broad rich valley lay fallow and neglected, for the husbandmen were not willing to sow, not knowing who would reap the harvest. The

line of hills beyond, which had stood out naked and bare during the winter, scarred and disfigured by the earth dug up for trenches, and piled up into redoubts, batteries, and fortifications of every kind, was again covered with the abundant foliage of its trees, which shut out from view all evidence of a hostile occupation and a warlike purpose. There are but few more attractive and pleasing rural scenes than that spread out in front of regimental headquarters at Falmouth in the spring of 1863.

During the winter, and before the spring campaign commenced, many changes took place in the regiment. On the 13th of April Colonel Palfrey resigned and was succeeded by Colonel Paul J. Revere. Major Dreher was commissioned lieutenant-colonel on the 18th of December, but died of wounds on the 1st of May, and Major George N. Macy was commissioned as his successor. Captain Allen Shepard was transferred to the Invalid Corps. Captain Henry L. Abbott became major on the 1st of May. On the 1st of April Captain N. P. Hallowell left the regiment to become lieutenant-colonel of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment. Lieutenants Charles A. Whittier, Arthur R. Curtis, Herbert C. Mason, James Murphy, and William R. Riddle were promoted to be captains. William F. Perkins, Henry E. Wilkins, Thomas M. McKay, William H. Walker, John W. Summerhays, Charles Cowgill, John Kelliher, Lancing E. Hibbard were promoted from second to first lieutenants, and Sumner Paine was appointed second lieutenant from civil life, April 23, 1863.

It was under Hooker that corps badges were introduced, the value of which attracted the eye of General Grant so quickly when he came East and assumed command of the army.

CHAPTER XI

CHANCELLORSVILLE

WITH the coming of spring, warm weather, and dry roads, it was felt that the season for inactivity would soon be passed. The active temperament of Hooker had chafed under the restraint that winter imposed upon him, and he impatiently waited for the time when he could set in motion what he proudly called "the finest army on the planet."

He had partially matured a plan of operations which has never been spoken of save in words of praise, and his fitness for a large command was soon to be put to the final test in carrying into execution what appeared to him in his winter camp so easy of accomplishment.

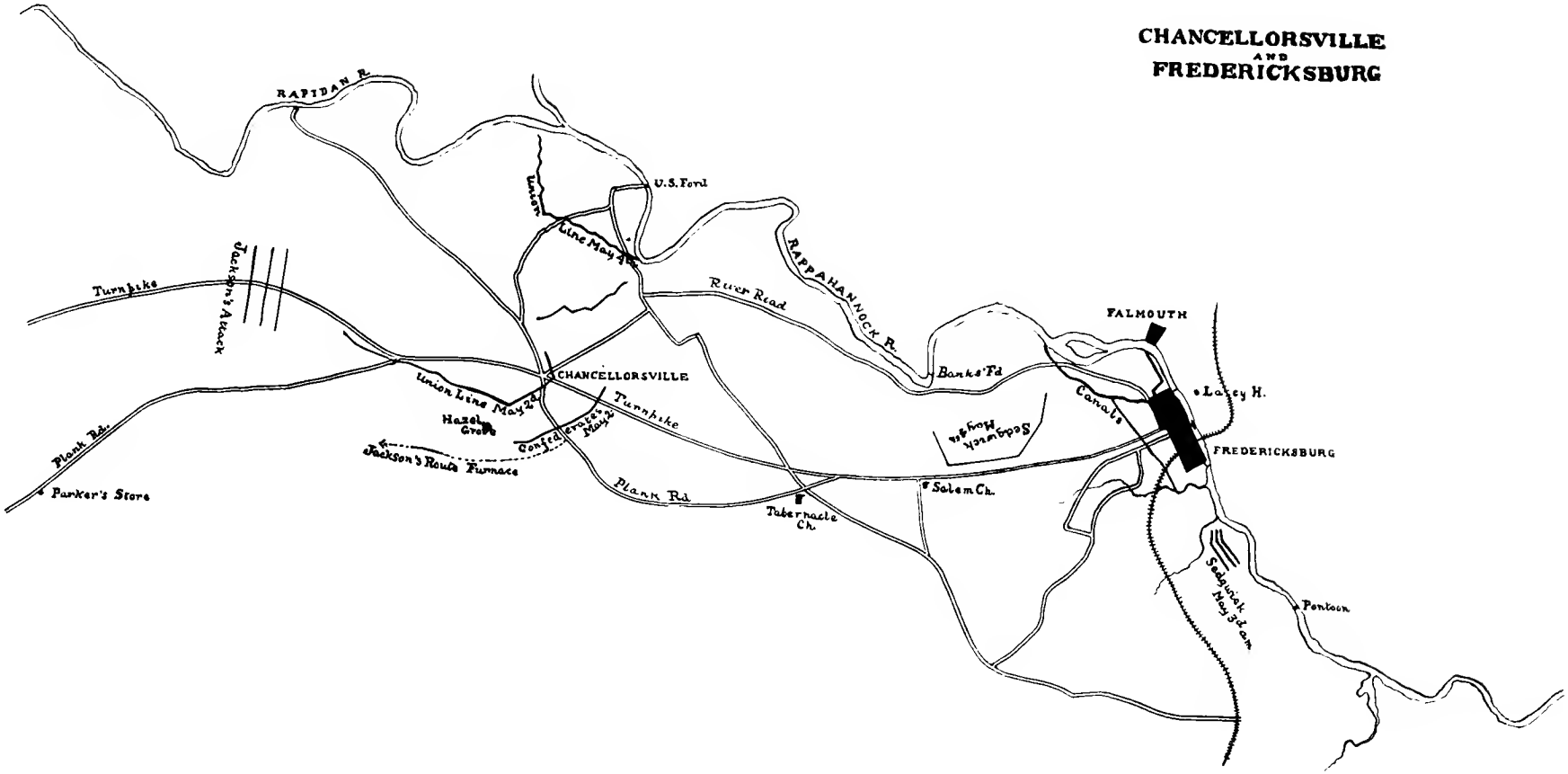
In the broad scheme which contemplated not only the defeat but the destruction of Lee's army, it was intended that the cavalry corps, which numbered nearly twelve thousand, should play an important part. To break up the railroads and destroy the bridges between Fredericksburg and Richmond, and thus render it difficult if not impossible to feed the army, and at the same time prevent the return of Longstreet's corps, then operating in front of Suffolk, except at a foot pace; and, with these objects secured, to take up a position behind the Pamunkey River, and there hold Lee at bay until Hooker could come up and secure his destruction, was the brave task given it to accomplish. There was a wide field for doubt whether orders requiring

the fulfillment of these objects would not fail of being carried out by a force only recently organized, which thus far had seldom crossed swords with the enemy. Though there were officers in the corps who later made their names famous, as yet they had had but little experience beyond that of escort and picket duty. To carry out these views it was necessary that the cavalry should start a week or more before any movement or threat of a movement should be made by the infantry, and General Stoneman set out on the 13th of April with instructions to make a wide detour around the enemy, passing by his left flank and then south for the accomplishment of his mission. Unfortunately a violent rainstorm came on before he had reached the upper fords of the Rappahannock, which rendered them impassable and delayed the movement until the army took up its march two weeks later. The part played by the cavalry in the campaign was insignificant, resulting in slight damage to the enemy and serious injury to the horses. Grieving but not disheartened at the misfortune attending the inception of the campaign, and foregoing the anticipated benefits to be derived by giving time for the cavalry to first make its blows felt, Hooker decided to set the army at once in motion.

For the purpose of deceiving the enemy and giving him a false notion as to where he was about to strike, Doubleday's division had been sent on the 21st some twenty miles down the river to Port Conway, and a few days later Wadsworth's division was sent to the same place. It is worthy of notice that at this point, or near it, Lee had expected Burnside to cross in the previous November, and thither he had sent Jackson's corps when recalled from the valley.

On the 27th of April the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps took up their march to Kelly's Ford, some twenty-seven miles above Fredericksburg, at which place they crossed without opposition during the night of the 28th and morning of the 29th. The three corps then marched down the river, crossing the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's fords, and arrived at Chancellorsville in the evening of the 30th. The First and Third divisions of the Second Corps had been sent to the United States Ford, arriving at 2.30 P. M. of the 29th, with directions to cross as soon as the turning column should compel the enemy stationed there to retire. On the afternoon of the 30th the two divisions crossed the Rappahannock and went into bivouac a mile east of Chancellorsville. During the evening Hooker came over and established his headquarters at the Chandler house. Without a conflict and without undue hardship upon the men, he had placed four corps of the army, numbering about forty-six thousand men, on the left flank of the enemy, who up to this time had been unable to divine exactly what was going on around them. A despatch had been captured during the day which showed that Lee was still at Fredericksburg and in doubt as to where he was to meet the enemy. It is no wonder that Hooker appeared in presence of the army with a smiling face and in high spirits. The misfortune attending upon the sending off of the cavalry was forgotten, and for the moment dreams of an easy conquest were indulged.

To aid in the accomplishment of these happy results, in addition to the movement of Doubleday's and Wadsworth's divisions to Port Conway previously related, the First, Third, and Sixth Corps had been left under command of Sedgwick, who, to


CHANCELLORSVILLE
AND
FREDERICKSBURG
RAPIDAN R.
U.S. Ford
Union Line May 2d
Jackson's Attack
Turnpike
River Road
RAPPAHANNOCK R.
FALMOUTH
Banks' Ft.
Lacey H.
CHANCELLORSVILLE
Union Line May 2d
Hazel Grove
Confederate Line May 2d
Turnpike
Canals
Scott's Dam May 4th
FREDERICKSBURG
Plank Rd.
Parker's Store
Jackson's Route Furnace
Plank Rd.
Salem Ch.
Tabernacle Ch.
Sedgwick's Line May 3 & 4th
Pontoon

give the impression of an attack upon the left, had thrown four bridges across the river at or near Franklin's old crossing, and constructed works for their protection upon the right bank. This display of force by Sedgwick had induced Lee to order up Jackson's corps and place it in the position occupied on the 13th of the previous December.

It was not until the evening of the 30th that he became convinced that the real attack was to come against his left, and that all other demonstrations were for the purpose of deception. While this turning movement was going on, Hooker remained in his headquarters near Falmouth, and left its execution to the corps commanders, though Slocum as senior officer exercised a general control whenever necessary.

The campaign of Chancellorsville has often been spoken of as one of the finest pieces of strategy of the war Up to the evening of the 30th nothing had occurred to interfere with its successful development. Each column had moved according to the prescribed orders and arrived at its destination at the appointed hour. Thus far it can be looked upon as a masterpiece; but as yet it is like one of Burnside's bridges in front of Fredericksburg at three o'clock on the afternoon of December 11, only half completed. There is no record to show how far Hooker had wrought out in his own mind what was to be done after the preliminary stage had been passed. An order had been issued for Sickles to report at Chancellorsville with the Third Corps on the morning of May 1, but the officer carrying it lost his way, and it did not arrive until about noon. Sedgwick with forty thousand men was still twenty miles away below Falmouth, with no instructions except those

which had been executed, save that he had been required to prevent a crossing to the Stafford shore, a very improbable contingency. On the afternoon of the 30th Hooker sent a message to him stating that he would take up the initiative on the following morning and expected to be on the heights west of Fredericksburg by noon, if only moderately opposed, and by evening, if strongly opposed. Sedgwick was expected to keep a sharp watch and, if he saw evidence of the enemy retreating, to push his command with all possible speed down the Bowling Green Road. Here reappears the illusion that possessed Burnside in December, that Lee was likely to avoid a battle and seek safety in flight. Hooker was following in the footsteps of McClellan on the peninsula, with the right wing of the army upon one side of the river and the left upon the opposite bank, but with this difference, that here a full day's march separated them, while McClellan had the two wings almost in contact. Strategy is something more than deceiving an enemy by feigned movements and thus enabling a commander to place a portion of his army in a favorable position for battle: it includes a correct sense of a proportion of forces which enables him to have a sufficient number at the chosen point of attack to overcome all resistance. If Napoleon in the Italian campaign of 1800 had appeared at Marengo, with Desaix's division on the north side of the Po, what is considered one of his most brilliant strategic movements would have passed into history without praise as a memorable failure. Here the first fault of Hooker appears. With the First Corps to strengthen his right at Chancellorsville the battle could have had no other than a favorable termination.

It is difficult to understand upon what grounds Hooker took the complacent view which he did of the situation on the afternoon of the 30th of April. In reply to a message informing him of reënforcements arriving from Richmond, he said that this was pleasing news, as his victory would be so much the greater. This would indicate that the contingency of failure had not even been considered. The men were in as cheerful and hopeful a mood as their commander. A presentiment of victory had taken possession of them, as often happens when the early stages of a campaign are accomplished easily and without hindrance.

While the army was thus hopefully resting during the night of the 30th, there was only a part of Anderson's division in front of it, nearly three miles away at Tabernacle Church, busily at work throwing up breastworks. Lee, at last, having a clear view of the situation, set his army in motion, and at eight o'clock on the following morning McLaws joined Anderson, and at eleven Jackson arrived with his corps. With the exception of one brigade at Banks's Ford and one brigade left at Fredericksburg by McLaws, there were five divisions ready to take up a line to oppose our further progress. General Lee was more disturbed by the position in which he was placed than at any previous time in his military career. He recognized the point that had been gained upon him and the disparity in numbers of the two armies. In a letter of this date to President Davis he lamented the absence of Longstreet, and intimated the possibility of his being compelled to retire towards Richmond. Estimating correctly the strength of the divided forces of the enemy, he left about ten thousand men under Early to oppose Sedgwick,

and with forty-five thousand stood ready to wrestle with Hooker as best he could.

On the 1st of May it was light enough for active operations by five o'clock. General Warren, the chief engineer, rode out with a small force of cavalry on the turnpike about three miles, without, opposition, nearly to Tabernacle Church, and reported the results of his reconnoissance to Hooker. With this exception the army remained inactive until after eleven o'clock. A corps commander visiting headquarters the previous evening noticed symptoms of vacillation and uncertainty, which show themselves in the pinch of a crisis when a person is weighted with responsibilities greater than his strength can bear.

There are three roads upon which the troops were resting leading to Fredericksburg, nearly parallel with each other, known as the River, Turnpike, and Plank roads. The expectations expressed to Sedgwick the previous day must have been given up, for Fredericksburg was eleven miles distant, and the order directing Meade to send two divisions down the River Road, Couch to move on the Turnpike, and Slocum by the Plank Road, was dated at eleven o'clock of the 1st of May. Meade gained without difficulty a position beyond Mott Run within a mile of Banks's Ford, and Couch and Slocum had secured a ridge running at right angles to their line of march something more than a mile from the Chandler house, when to their surprise they received orders to retire and take up their positions of the evening previous.

That accomplished officer, General Warren, argued in vain with his chief against the fatal consequences of this step. Meade was less than a mile from Banks's

Ford, and the other corps held a commanding position with open ground in front, which every reason required should be held. General Couch was so much impressed with the mistake about to be committed, that he delayed long enough the execution of the order to send back an officer of his staff to express to the commander-in-chief his views and the concurrent sentiments of the other corps commanders, who returned with a peremptory order to withdraw. General Meade, standing on the pike in the midst of a group of officers, bringing down his clenched fist on the palm of his left hand, exclaimed with a good deal of emotion, "My God, if we can't hold the top of a hill, we certainly can't hold the foot!" Slocum first commenced retiring on the right, and was on his way to Chancellorsville when a note was sent to Couch permitting him to remain until five o'clock, but it was no longer possible for him to so do, for there was then no supporting force on the Plank Road. It is indeed difficult to conceive with what object in view such a note could have been sent, for if the battle was not to be fought in that position, the sooner the army was brought back to the new line, the longer would be the time for throwing up works and putting them in a state of defense. It can only be looked upon as one of those compromising actions that emanate from a mind in a state of doubt and uncertainty.

The enemy was already pressing his forces forward, and the withdrawal was effected with some difficulty but without serious fighting and loss.

As soon as Jackson arrived at Tabernacle Church, he at once directed all work upon intrenchments to cease, and began putting his forces in line for the purpose of making an attack. His skirmishers were pushed forward, sharp firing commenced, and an

earnest effort was made to develop our line and discover its weak points, if such existed. The falling back of the army was a surprise to him as well as to the corps commanders, and the ridge so recently occupied by the Federal troops was quickly and eagerly seized and covered with artillery, which for two days played an important and deadly part in the battle.

Hooker, brave and resolute when far away from the enemy, began to hesitate as the opposing forces began to approach near to each other, and in an evil hour threw away all the fruits of his strategy by taking up a defensive position in the Wilderness and passing over the initiative to General Lee.

The hand that penned the message to Sedgwick a few hours before, that he would be on the heights west of Fredericksburg by noon, if moderately opposed, and by evening, if strongly opposed, without attempting to find out whether the opposition would be of either character, now wrote to General Butterfield that he had countermanded the attack at two o'clock by reason of news received from the other side of the river, and at the same time ordered the First Corps to report by a night march at Chancellorsville. All of this presents one of those psychological phenomena of which many examples have been seen in the past, which it is hardly necessary to follow out to its last analysis. The records do not show the receipt of any news from "the other side of the river" or anywhere else that did or could have influenced Hooker in the slightest degree in changing from an aggressive to a passive attitude. It came from within and not from without. All the despatches and orders sent to and from headquarters during the campaign may be found in Volume 25 of

the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," and the situation as revealed by them points to a forward movement as the one path to success.

Under the guidance of Captain Payne of the Corps of Engineers, the troops were placed in position upon their withdrawal from the advanced line, and at once commenced throwing up breastworks, slashing timber in front, constructing abatis, and in other ways making ready for the expected conflict. Meade, with his left near the river, facing east towards Fredericksburg, connected with French's division on the right, who covered the space between the Fifth Corps and the Turnpike; Hancock's division was about a quarter of a mile in front of French, holding the ground between the Turnpike and the Plank Road; the Twelfth Corps faced south, making nearly a right angle with Hancock's line, and the Twelfth, Third, and Eleventh Corps connected in the order named and extended the general line westerly beyond Dowdall's Tavern. In a general way it can be said that the army held two sides of a square, the side facing east toward the position then occupied by the enemy consisting of the Fifth and two divisions of the Second Corps, and the other facing south of the three corps already named.

The reason for presenting this vicious angle to the enemy probably was a fear, lest, by continuing the line to the south, in the event of Lee succeeding in breaking through the centre on the Turnpike or Plank Road, the right wing would be cut off from its line of retreat and might be captured. If this had been done, however, the real danger which it did suffer would have been avoided, for the road over which the flank march of Jackson was made would

have been covered, and a front attack or retreat would have been the necessary outcome of the situation.

During the night the two armies were less than half a mile from each other, and all through its weary and anxious hours the sound of the axe was heard felling the forest in front of every division.

Lee having been unable to find any point against which he was willing to make an assault, had sent word to Stuart to reconnoitre on the left and make report of what he might discover in that direction. Early on the morning of the second, while Lee and Jackson were sitting on two cracker boxes near the Plank Road, the enterprising Stuart appeared and reported that Howard's right was unguarded, and indicated the roads by which a position could be gained upon which a column could be formed for an attack. General Fitz Hugh Lee informed the writer that the suggestion of the movement which was made in consequence of this report did not come from Jackson, as has been generally claimed, but that General Lee himself immediately ordered him to make it as soon as Stuart's report was received.

Rash and hazardous as it was to divide a small army and separate its two wings by a distance of seven miles in presence of a force superior in numbers, in the heart of a wilderness with narrow and difficult roads, it was an enterprise just suited to the genius of Jackson, and he entered upon it with alacrity and that confidence one feels who sees clearly his way to the end. There was one point on his line of march where the column was observed by the men of the Third Corps, and Sickles moved forward two divisions for the purpose of attacking it. Barlow's brigade of the Eleventh Corps was sent to him, and

was advanced to the right as a support to that flank. Owing to the density of the woods Sickles did not reach the road followed by Jackson until he was well on his way, though he captured the Twenty-third Georgia regiment, which had been left behind for observation, and drove off to another road further south a part of his wagon train.

Hooker construed the flank march into a flight of Lee's army. At 2.30 P. M. he issued a circular order to the corps commanders to replenish their supplies of provisions and ammunition and be in readiness to move at an early hour the next morning. Later he informed General Butterfield, his chief of staff, then at Falmouth, that Lee's army was in flight and that two of Sickles's divisions were among his trains. Sedgwick was informed of this pleasing news and ordered to be prepared for a rapid pursuit of the enemy. In the forenoon General Hooker had ridden round his lines and directed Slocum and Howard to strengthen their positions, which appeared to him ill prepared for defense, as an attack on the right might be looked for. And yet, when the movement necessary to be made to realize this expectation, was well under way it presented to his mind only the ear-marks of a retreat. That a commander with full knowledge and much experience of the combative temperament of Lee, who had never yet but once turned his back to his foe, who had taken up a position on the Antietam with less than a single corps with the resolute purpose of meeting in battle all the forces of McClellan, and who had the recent experience of Fredericksburg to inspirit and give confidence to his troops, should now form the opinion that he was in full retreat, and that, too, towards Gordonsville and not in the direction of Richmond,

is one of the most curious and inexplicable hallucinations to be found in all the records of war.

The orders and instructions based upon this delusion had scarcely reached their destination before it was dispelled by a rude shock that put the Eleventh Corps into a rout and panic that for a while seemed to threaten the safety of the whole army. Such scenes of confusion and tumult as covered the Chancellorsville plateau had never before been witnessed, nor were they again repeated on any battlefield. General Morgan, so well known as the accomplished chief of staff of the Second Corps, said that "the stampede of the Eleventh Corps was something curious and wonderful to behold. I have seen horses and cattle stampeded on the plains, blinded apparently by fright, rush over wagons, rocks, streams, any obstacle in the way; but never, before or since, saw I thousands of men actuated seemingly by the same unreasoning fear that takes possession of a herd of animals. As the crowd of fugitives swept by the Chancellor house, the greatest efforts were made to check them; but those only stopped who were knocked down by the swords of staff officers or the sponge-staffs of Kirby's battery, which was drawn up across the road leading to the ford. Many of them ran right on down the turnpike toward Fredericksburg through our line of battle and picket line and into the enemy's line."

By the heroic exertions of officers and men not disturbed by the wild flight about them, the progress of Jackson's corps was for a time held in check, and fortunately night coming on put an end to the battle.

Hooker in perplexity and doubt, knowing that something must be done, but not seeing clearly the right thing to do, directed his engineers to lay out a new line half a mile in the rear, and drew in the army

nearer to Chancellorsville, but still covering it. Hazel Grove, the key to the whole field, was abandoned. In the most vicious battle line ever formed, with the two wings of the army presenting their backs to each other, the right facing to the west and the left to the east, the short interval between the two filled by a part of the Twelfth Corps facing south, Hooker waited for the coming day.

With daylight the battle was renewed and continued with great fury and with varying fortunes until ten o'clock, when, the line being broken, the troops were withdrawn to the rear and took up the position that had been marked out by the engineers during the night. While the contest was going on Reynolds, who had come up during the night, was on the road to Ely's Ford with the First Corps within rifle shot of the flank of Jackson's corps, and remained there without orders and without firing a shot, while Meade, who was near at hand with the Fifth Corps, was practically unused for the same reason.

When the campaign commenced, Gibbon's division of the Second Corps, to which the Twentieth belonged, was occupying the bare hills about Falmouth; and as the camps were plainly visible from the opposite side of the river, it was deemed advisable that it should not then be moved. The regiment was still doing provost duty in the town, and continued in this quiet routine while the movement of the army was taking place. It was a novel experience to remain behind while operations on a great scale were going on, but it cannot be said that there was any complaining at this lot. On the 1st of May it heard the first shots come rumbling down the river, giving notice there of the successful turning movement, and the approach of that part of the army which had taken part in it.

All day during the second it heard the rumble and roar of a great battle, and yet no call had been made that indicated the need of reënforcements.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the second, General Warren was sent with an order to General Sedgwick to cross the Rappahannock, take possession of everything in Fredericksburg, and at once move out on the Plank Road to Chancellorsville, and to appear on the rear of Lee's army on the morning of the third. General Gibbon's division was made subject to his command.

General Warren arrived at the headquarters of the Sixth Corps a little before midnight. The corps was then on the right bank of the river nearly three miles below Fredericksburg. The distance to be covered by this order was fifteen miles. As the order directed him to cross the river, it is to be inferred that Hooker supposed that he was still opposite the city. It would have just been possible for Sedgwick to have complied with his instructions literally, if it had been daylight, the roads known, and no enemy had intervened. To wake an army of twenty thousand men from sleep and set it in motion is a matter requiring some time, and the corps only made its entrance into Fredericksburg a few minutes before the hour it was expected to be at Chancellorsville. Early's division was near by, and his pickets surrounded it from river to river. Its progress was necessarily slow. There were two streams to cross, and its whole journey was opposed in front and on one flank by the forces sent out for the purpose.

General Gibbon was ordered to lay a bridge by the Lacy house during the night and cross over in season to join hands with the Sixth Corps. The regiment broke camp soon after midnight, and proceeded over

the same road to the same spot occupied on the 11th of the previous December. Guarding the right bank were the same riflemen from Mississippi whose acquaintance was made on that day. The pontoons were ready to be slid into the water, and everything indicated a repetition of the experiences of the former occasion. The regiment was designated to cross over in boats and drive the enemy from the city. What had been done once it was thought could be more easily done a second time, and the men were cheerful and ready for the work. While waiting for sufficient light to see with some distinctness, the approach of Sedgwick's column compelled the pickets to withdraw and rendered the task of laying the bridge a simple one for the engineers.

When daylight was full, the old familiar objects stood out in all distinctness. The Lacy house was still standing. This fine old colonial mansion with a front of a hundred feet along the bluff, commanding a wide and beautiful view of the valley, surrounded by venerable oaks, with gardens dropping down in terraces to the river, had been known for a century in Virginia as Chatham. Here, as at White House, Washington met and courted Martha Custis. Here, also, seventy-five years ago or more, one summer evening Robert E. Lee and Miss Custis were sitting on the ground under the great oak that stood on the upper terrace near the mansion, and then and there plighted their troth to each other to become husband and wife. During the battle of December 13 General Lee often turned his glass towards Chatham to see if the tree, associated in memory with the happiest and most important event in his life, was being injured.[1] Now

[1] These facts were communicated to the writer by the Rev. Dr. James P Smith of Richmond, who received them from the lips of

the fences were gone, the trees cut down, the gardens ruined, and the mansion deserted. The smoke rising over the city from the chimneys indicated that the houses were occupied, and the coming again of a hostile army was probably quite unexpected.

General Sedgwick came over in a boat to the Stafford shore, and held a conference with General Gibbon. As soon as the bridge was laid the division crossed over and again occupied the city. During the winter the thousand rents made in it had been repaired, but the patching was plainly visible.

At this time Newton's division was in line along Caroline Street parallel to the river, Howe's division was on the south side of Hazel Run, and Brooks's division was three miles away in front of Hamilton's Crossing.

Sedgwick had been informed that only Early's division was on his front, but Barksdale's brigade was also there, and Wilcox's brigade was on the way from Banks's Ford to join him, — in all about ten thousand men.

The events of the 13th of December had made a deep impression on the minds of all our officers, and doubtless the memory of them tended somewhat to produce caution, and prevent that quickness of decision and action which under other circumstances might have been adopted. The way to Chancellorsville was over the Plank Road, and as the Marye Heights commanded it, it was necessary to carry them in some way before the line of march could be taken up. It was finally decided that Gibbon's division should move up the river road and attempt to turn them from the right; Howe's division should operate

General Lee himself. Dr. Smith married the daughter of Major Lacy, the owner of Chatham.

on the left, while Newton held the centre covering the Plank Road. It was expected by the extension of the three divisions in a single line that the enemy would make corresponding movements along the hills, which would allow them to present only a small force at any one point. These expectations were wholly or in part realized. Gibbon had not proceeded far from the city before Hays's brigade was in motion and kept an even pace with him, and when he halted and was ready to move forward to attack, his whole front was covered, but with a force less than his own. Gibbon promptly moved the division for the purpose of carrying out his instructions, but had not proceeded far before he came to the canal, from which the bridges had been removed, rendering a crossing impossible. During the advance the troops had been subjected to a sharp fire from the artillery on the hills, and as nothing was to be gained by remaining stationary in front of an impassable stream, he withdrew under the partial cover of a rise of ground and ordered the men to lie down. It was here that Captain Oliver W. Holmes, Jr., was wounded for the third time.

General Howe on the left had met with no better success. He had not made much progress toward the front before he discovered a considerable force assembled on his left, and he was obliged to halt and turn to ward off this danger.

It was now ten o'clock, and at the rate of progress thus far made it would require two days to reach Chancellorsville. The orders were urgent and every motive called for action. Warren, the representative of Hooker, reminded Sedgwick of the expectations of his chief, and later, before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, expressed the opinion that the commander of the Sixth Corps was unnecessarily

dilatory. It is not clear that his judgment was correct.

As it was impossible to expect anything aggressive from Gibbon's division on the right, he was directed to hold his position, for as long as he remained there, it was not likely that Hays's brigade would be withdrawn from the front. From Newton's division two columns were organized, consisting of four regiments each, and another brigade commanded by Colonel Hiram Burnham of the Sixth Maine was formed in line on the left of the Telegraph Road directly in front of the famous stone wall. At a given signal the whole division moved forward. The right column, led by Colonel Spear, was met by a destructive fire from infantry and some howitzers, and was broken, Colonel Spear being killed. The other, under command of Colonel Johns, who was seriously wounded, was twice broken, but being finally rallied by Colonel Walsh, it rushed up and secured the heights. Colonel Burnham carried his men without a halt or break over the stone wall and up Marye's Hill, and a few days later was made a brigadier-general. During the assault not a shot was fired; the bayonet alone was relied upon and the work was done.

Soon after Howe's division on the other side of Hazel Run carried the works on its front in the same gallant style. A wide space was thus cleared, and Early's forces retreated in much disorder to the right and left. A thousand prisoners were captured, just about the number of our killed and wounded, in the space of five minutes. Thus quickly were the Marye and Willis Heights carried, by a single division, which had once baffled every effort of the whole Army of the Potomac. General Newton said that if there had

been a hundred more men on the hills they could not have been taken. So narrow is the margin in war between victory and defeat.

The confusion and disorganization of the forces incident to the assault were considerable, but the determination of Sedgwick to bring Brooks's division, which had been left all the while at the lower bridge, and put them in the lead, was a serious error, if expedition in any event could have resulted favorably to that part of the battle assigned to the Sixth Corps. The Marye Heights were carried at about half past ten, and it was nearly three o'clock in the afternoon before the column was in motion.

This delay enabled McLaws to seize the strong position at Salem Church with his division and one brigade of Anderson's, the other two being sent to hold the junction of the Mine and River roads. It also gave time for Early to recover from the shock of his rude handling. Hays's brigade, which had been thrown off to the right, passed round the front of the Sixth Corps and rejoined its division, and Wilcox, at first retreating toward the River Road, finally joined McLaws at the church.

It was after four o'clock when Sedgwick, having formed his line in front of McLaws, gave the order to Brooks to attack, which failed for lack of support, though the church and schoolhouse were taken and the enemy's line was at first carried. Brooks's division lost fifteen hundred men. Newton's division was formed for a second assault to be supported by Howe, but the latter had gone into camp, and for this reason further operations for the day were suspended.

Hooker, with his army posted on the new line, heard the battle being waged by Sedgwick, but gave no orders pointing to coöperation and assistance, though

it was evident that he was being opposed by forces that had been sent from his own front.

Sedgwick, having been informed that he could expect no aid from the main army, was compelled to look to the safety of his corps. Early had already taken possession of the heights in rear of Fredericksburg, which were guarded only by a picket line from Gibbon's division, and other troops had come up to reinforce McLaws. He was now in a position of much danger. The road to Fredericksburg was no longer open, and he was threatened from three sides. Fortunately General Benham had thrown over a pontoon bridge at Scott's Dam, a mile below Banks's Ford, and Owen's brigade of Gibbon's division had crossed to the right bank. To extricate the corps from its perilous position required a cool head and a skillful hand. Howe's division was formed fronting towards Fredericksburg to oppose Early, Brooks was placed in line in front of the Plank Road in touch with Anderson, while Newton faced McLaws in the direction of Chancellorsville. In this position the opposing forces remained during the greater part of the fourth, with continuous skirmishing, while the enemy was preparing to break through on Newton's front and the left of Howe with the purpose of cutting off the one avenue of retreat. At six o'clock the signal was given, and Early delivered his assault in columns of battalions against the left of Howe, and McLaws on the right of Brooks, both of which were repulsed with very considerable loss, the brigades of Hays and Hoke being broken up and in much confusion. The Eighth Louisiana was captured. Soon after Sedgwick withdrew his forces to the right bank without molestation.

When the Sixth Corps took up its line of march

towards Chancellorsville Gibbon was left with two brigades to hold the city. The third, commanded by Owen, had previously been sent to Banks's Ford to protect that crossing, where he rendered important assistance to Sedgwick on the fourth.

It was not expected that Gibbon with his small force would be able to hold the heights west of the city in case of an attempt to retake them, and they were only guarded by a picket line. The duty assigned him was to hold the town and preserve the bridges in the event of the Sixth Corps finding it necessary to return by that route.

During the night of the third Early brushed away our pickets and extended his forces along the hills to the river above Falmouth. There was then a force of considerable strength between Sedgwick and Gibbon, which gave great anxiety to the latter, not only for his own safety, but likewise for that of the Sixth Corps. With the detail necessary at the bridges and for a patrol of the city, the force was inadequate for any aggressive work. It was feared that it might be necessary to abandon the town and take up the bridges. No such purpose was declared or contemplated, but it was clearly within the realm of probabilities. The situation caused much anxiety, and extreme watchfulness was exercised in every direction. The whole force was required to form a thin line from Hazel Run across the plain to the river above. An attack might be expected along the Bowling Green Road on the left, on the river road from the right, or directly in front. The Twentieth was charged with the holding of that part of the ground from Hazel Run along the railroad as far as their small numbers would reach. At daylight on the morning of the fourth the enemy began to press

up against our picket line, and during the day made more than one rather determined effort to break through, but they were thrown back without much difficulty. There was some anxiety for the safety of the right, where some troops were stationed that were not regarded as fully reliable, for the loss of a single position would have rendered the situation extremely hazardous to all. It was the opinion of all the officers that they never had a more trying experience than during the time between the loss of the heights and the withdrawal to the Stafford shore, which took place in accordance with orders after the retreat of the Sixth Corps by way of Fredericksburg was no longer possible.

Hooker, having remained during the afternoon of the third and the whole of the fourth and fifth in the new position taken up after the breaking of his lines in front of the Chancellor house, against the advice of a majority of the corps commanders given in a council of war to which the question was submitted, ordered a retreat; and when Lee was ready to make an assault on the morning of the sixth, he found no enemy in his front, for the Army of the Potomac was on the opposite side of the river wending its way back to its old camps.

The casualties were as follows: —

COMPANY D. Killed: Sergeant Charles H. Bixby. Wounded: Privates John Lynch, Hugh O'Harran.

COMPANY F. Wounded: Captain James Murphy; First Sergeant John Ronan; Privates William Meaney, Terrence Wade.

COMPANY G. Wounded: Captain O. W Holmes, Jr.; Privates James Hayes, George Lawson, Alonzo L. Stetson.

COMPANY H. Killed: Private William J. Smith.

COMPANY I. Wounded: Corporal Samuel C. Crocker; Privates Thomas Ahearn, Barzillar Crowell.

The defeat at Chancellorsville in no way affected the army as did the battle of Fredericksburg. The Sixth Corps looked with pride upon its achievements in carrying Marye Heights and waging an even battle at Salem Heights. The First and Fifth corps were merely lookers-on at Chancellorsville, if such a term may be used with reference to a field where nothing could be seen but a wilderness of brush and wood. The Second, Third, and Twelfth corps rightly felt that they had saved the army from a great disaster by their heroic exertions after the rout of the Eleventh Corps by Jackson's flank attack; and though finally ordered to retire, it was with the consciousness that nothing of dishonor attached to them. In the discussions that went on in the tents and around the camp-fires the men, though disappointed, saw nothing that discouraged them, for they did not know the real cause of their discomfiture. It was for them a battle in the dark where the real fault was concealed from their view. The cheerful conclusion was reached that but for the failure of the Eleventh Corps victory would have been won, and that, on the whole, the honors were not far from even; for though our people had lost the most men, Lee had lost his right arm in the death of Jackson, which brought the enemy's mortality list at least to an equality with our own. For once the higher officers and the men reasoned on different lines, for the former, being in possession of facts and circumstances which were unknown to the latter, were able to take a broader view of the battle and drew the correct conclusion as to why it was that they were retreating to the north instead of moving to the south.

Whatever may be the final judgment as to the qualifications of General Hooker for high command, there

can be no divided opinion as to the value of his services in the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac and bringing into it a new life and spirit during the winter of 1863. For this alone he is entitled to all the honor conferred by his native State in the beautiful statue erected to his memory by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the State House grounds. It is only those who were connected with the army, and were familiar with its inner life, who know and fully appreciate the magic influence wrought upon it during the short period of his command, — an influence so great and potent in every arm of the service that those who witnessed his shortcomings in the critical moments of a later date take pleasure in cheerfully bearing witness to it.

During the campaign the Federal loss was 16,792 and the Confederate 12,764. Chancellorsville ranks third in magnitude of the battles during the war, measured by Federal losses, being exceeded only by Gettysburg and the Wilderness.

CHAPTER XII

GETTYSBURG

For more than a month after Chancellorsville the army remained inactive, and no one can tell how many more months it would so have continued if the initiative had been left to General Hooker. There is no record of his having devised or suggested any plan of operations, and apparently he was quite content with being left undisturbed in his cantonments.

In the minds of the Confederate chieftains, the defeat of Pemberton's army, the commencement of the siege of Vicksburg, and the almost certainty of its ultimate fall, with the loss of many thousand men, created a necessity for some counter-stroke to offset the depression which would follow upon so great a disaster. To have an Austerlitz prepared to follow close upon a Trafalgar is a piece of strategy in the great game of war that strikes the imagination and wins for its author merited applause. For this there was no one to look to but General Lee. His active mind and impulsive temperament responded readily to such a call. As he could not hope successfully to assail Hooker in his strong position between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, there was nothing left but to draw him out from his defenses and compel him to battle on more hopeful ground. For this purpose he started Longstreet northward on the 3d of June upon what finally developed into the campaign culminating at Gettysburg.

For some days previous rumors had been circulating through the camps that another invasion of the North was to be undertaken upon a larger scale than the previous one, but nothing indicating such a movement had as yet been revealed. On the 5th of June Sedgwick was detached for the purpose of guarding United States and Banks's fords. Two days later Pleasanton was ordered to make a reconnoissance with all the available cavalry in the direction of Culpeper Court House, to ascertain, if possible, the real purposes of the enemy. He came in contact with Stuart at Fleetwood Hill, where a cavalry battle was fought which revealed the presence of the Confederate infantry, and made known to Hooker that the invasion was well under way. The prompt appearance of Pleasanton with all the horsemen at his command is believed to have deterred Lee from following a line east of the Blue Ridge, and forced him to take his route down the Shenandoah Valley. But whether from chance or necessity, so secretly and rapidly was the movement carried out that the advance under Ewell appeared before Winchester on the 13th, while Hill was confronting and detaining Hooker upon the Rappahannock. The two wings of Lee's army were then a hundred miles apart.

Though Hooker was desirous of attacking Hill or interposing between the widely separated portions of the enemy, he was required by the government, which no longer reposed full confidence in him, and perhaps feared that his timidity at Chancellorsville might be followed by acts of rashness, so to manœuvre the army as to keep it constantly as a shield between Lee and Washington. The movements of each corps from this time on to the battle of Gettysburg were in accordance with, and admirably

adapted to carry out, this general order of the War Department.

The Second Corps, to which the Twentieth belonged, acted for the most part as a rear guard during the long manœuvring and marching which followed. On the 15th it marched to Stafford Court House, which was in flames, and after a rest of two hours proceeded to Acquia Creek, where it bivouacked for the night. The day was very hot, and many men fell out from the ranks from fatigue at the long march. There were several cases of sunstroke, and the ambulances were filled with those unable to keep up. This was a common experience after a long period of inactivity.

The next day was also hot and the roads were dusty, but that night we encamped on the banks of the Occoquan, where there was fine bathing in clear running water, which greatly refreshed the jaded men, and thousands forgot their fatigue in this long remembered bath. On the 17th the Twentieth reached Sanger's Station, where it remained over the 19th, reaching Centerville the next day. On the 21st we passed over the battlefield of Bull Run and arrived at Thoroughfare Gap in the evening.

A rest of four days restored the strength and made bright the spirits of every one, and as we started off again on the 25th the muscles had become well tempered, and marching was no longer wearisome. As the corps left Thoroughfare Gap, Stuart started on his famous raid in rear of the army, which deprived Lee of the service of his cavalry, and caused him much inconvenience during the campaign. At Haymarket Stuart opened fire on the second division, then in the rear, killing and wounding several men. Zook's brigade left at Gainesville was temporarily cut

off from the corps, and Captain Johnson, commander of the corps headquarters' escort, was captured while bearing a message from General Hancock to General Zook.

It commenced raining in the afternoon, and we went into camp that night in one of the fiercest of showers. It was here that General Alexander Hays joined the corps with a brigade, and was assigned to the command of the Third division. The same day General Alexander S. Webb was made commander of the Philadelphia brigade, who was soon to render the corps such signal service on the 3d of July.

On the 26th the corps crossed the Potomac at Edwards Ferry. The regiment was now back to the scene of its first military service and almost in sight of the spot of its first trial and suffering. It seemed a hard fate that after nearly two years of fighting we should be forced back to the very spot of our first battle. Every original member of the regiment had picketed along the river at Edwards Ferry, and there was much interest manifested in looking out again on old familiar scenes.

On the 28th the corps reached Monocacy Junction, near Frederick in Maryland, and there we learned that General Hooker had tendered his resignation, and that General George G. Meade, then commanding the Fifth Corps, had succeeded him. General Couch states in his diary that he had a long private conversation with the President after Chancellorsville, during which he plainly informed Mr. Lincoln that Hooker had forfeited the confidence of the higher officers and ought to be removed, and that "Meade was the man for the place." It is likely that the word of one so competent to advise had much weight in the selection.

No one ever succeeded to the command of a great army under such trying circumstances as those surrounding the new commander of the Army of the Potomac. Headquarters were then at Frederick in Maryland, where were assembled the First, Eleventh, and Twelfth corps; the Second was at Monocacy Junction; the Third was near Woodsborough; the Fifth was at Ballinger's Creek; and the Sixth was at Hyattstown. Buford's cavalry division was at Middletown; Gregg's division at Newmarket; and Kilpatrick's division at Frederick City with the artillery reserve.

On the previous day Stuart had crossed the Potomac near Dranesville with his cavalry, and had captured on the 28th a large train of supplies on its way to Frederick, and then continued his march in the rear of the Union Army, causing something of a panic in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. On this date Ewell with two divisions was in Carlisle, and Early, having torn up the track and destroyed some of the bridges of the Northern Central Railroad, had entered York. Lee, with the commands of Longstreet and Hill, was at Chambersburg. The locations of the invading forces of Ewell and Early were then known, but the position of Lee with the bulk of his army and his plan of future operations had not been revealed. The two forces were separated by distances varying from fifty to a hundred miles, but where they were likely to meet was beyond the realm of conjecture. Lee had been informed that Hooker had crossed the Potomac, but beyond that fact he was ignorant of the location of a single corps of the Federal Army.

General Meade, connected with the Army of the Potomac from its organization, had commanded a brigade on the peninsula, a division at Antietam

and Fredericksburg, and from the latter event had been the chief of the Fifth Corps. Though present at Chancellorsville, he can hardly be said to have taken part in the battle. He had never had an independent command, and his experience was practically limited to a brigade and division. During this time he had been gradually rising in the estimation of the government and the army alike, and his succession to the command was received not with enthusiasm but with fervor and confidence. The charge of his division at Fredericksburg has often been compared with that of Pickett's division at Gettysburg, and is still pointed to as one of the heroic acts of the war. His personal courage had often been tested and as often applauded, while his fine scholarship and lofty character were matters of general recognition.

But to assume the command of a great and scattered army near the close of a campaign and on the eve of a battle demanded a strong heart and a clear brain, both of which General Meade brought to the discharge of his trying duties. Mr. John C. Ropes, one of the most accomplished military writers and critics, in his life of Napoleon singles out the fact that Blücher and Wellington, each with armies much larger than the emperor's, had agreed to await his attack at Waterloo, as entitling them to the highest praise and commendation. If there be wisdom in this, it would be difficult to express in words what is due to General Meade in deciding to press forward instantly to find General Lee and bring him to battle. Lee with his army at this time was a more formidable foe than Napoleon at Waterloo.

On the morning of the 29th the whole army was in motion. General Reynolds was given command of the left wing, consisting of the First, Third, and

Eleventh corps. The Twentieth marched to Uniontown, Maryland, where it remained the following day. This was the longest march of the war, something over thirty-two miles. The weather was hot and the roads dusty, but neither heat nor dust was minded in the eagerness of every one to overtake the enemy. The men appeared to be made of iron so little were they affected by their extraordinary exertions. Only two men dropped out from the ranks, coming into camp a little later than the rest, and thirteen were carried part of the way in the ambulances. Their endurance was equaled by their orderly conduct; plundering was unknown, though temptations of every kind were constantly before their eyes. We were marching through one of the attractive garden spots of the earth. A beautiful valley, shut in on either side by picturesque hills and watered by numerous streams, spread out on either side and stretched forward seemingly without end. To veteran soldiers who for two years had seen only the thin soil and poorly cultivated fields of Virginia it was a veritable paradise. Crops of every kind and variety were hastening forward to maturity, and from the open barns came the sweet smell of the newly gathered hay. Mile after mile the road was lined with trees loaded with ripe and luscious cherries, but they remained untasted. From the moment that the army crossed to the north of the Potomac a new and strange feeling came over it. Though in theory it was never admitted that any section of the country was other than part of a great whole, the war had overturned the theory so far as the feelings were concerned, and entering a loyal State gave the sense of returning from a foreign country to one's own again. It was seen in the changed face, the eye, the cheery tones of the voice, the quick elastic step that

went on without ceasing, and the eager desire to come up with the enemy and drive him back to his own country. The despondency following Fredericksburg was gone, and the victors of Chancellorsville no longer excited a fear. Such were the sentiments, conduct, and feelings of the army as it pressed forward under the burning sun of June and July to reach the field of Gettysburg.

On June 30 the Second Corps at Uniontown held the centre of a widely extended line, the Sixth Corps being as far to the east as New Windsor, and the Fifth and Eleventh corps at Emmetsburg. Buford's cavalry was at Fairfield, and on the following day occupied Gettysburg and the ridges to the west with videttes well to the front on all the roads centring on the town upon which the enemy would be likely to advance. It was from this officer that Meade learned during the evening of the 30th that the Confederate Army was moving in the direction of this place.

The campaign well illustrates how chance rather than the determinations of commanders often decides the spot where battles are to be fought. It was not in the mind of either Lee or Meade that the contest between them was to be decided on the hills overlooking that now famous town.

Resting a day at Uniontown, where we received a loyal greeting from the inhabitants, who offered fairly everything in the way of refreshment, daylight of the 1st of July saw the regiment again on its way to Taneytown, where it arrived about noon, expecting to go into camp. While preparing to make our stay comfortable, whether long or short, a report was brought to General Meade that the enemy had been encountered west of Gettysburg and that General Reynolds had been killed or wounded. General Meade went to

General Hancock's headquarters and directed him to turn over the command of the corps to our division commander, General Gibbon, and proceed to the scene of conflict to represent him there. We saw him enter an ambulance, his horse being led by an orderly, which was soon hid from sight by a cloud of dust as it sped over the road to the north. It was at once conjectured that something of importance had happened, and before long rumors were circulating through the ranks that a great disaster had occurred and that our commander had been sent forward in all haste to repair it. The order, which soon came, to break camp again and fall into line, was confirmation that there was some truth in what rumor had been telling us.

That great events were near at hand was seen clearly enough when we were again on the road, for each regiment was required to have a guard in the rear which was charged to arrest every one, whether officer or private, who, for the purpose of even getting a drink of water, should step out from his place in the marching column. An officer of the Twentieth was, in fact, made subject to this order for attempting to dip up a cup of water from a brook that crossed the road. No interval was allowed between any two units of the corps, whether artillery or infantry. It was the closest marching column that we had ever had experience of, and from Taneytown to Gettysburg the world was shut out from sight. A cloud of dust so dense and all pervading enveloped us that nothing was anywhere visible. For all that we knew we might have been passing through a treeless desert. The picturesque hills, the rich and fertile valley, the succession of beautiful and productive farms, that we had been passing by and through, disappeared from sight all at once as if by magic. The heat was intense and

the air motionless, but not a murmur of discontent was heard at the hardship of a forced march under these trying conditions. That one portion of the army was in need of assistance was the stimulant that banished all thought of weariness and kept the column in motion like a piece of perfect machinery. The dust settled down upon us, and adhering to the moist skin gave one uniform color of dirty brown to caps, coats, faces, hands, trousers, and shoes. Individual features were obliterated, and it was no longer possible to distinguish the file leader from the file closer. The Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac came to look like a twin brother of the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia.

We had not moved forward far before we caught the most impressive sound that can reach the human ear, the first indistinct notes of a distant battle. Instinctively the step was quickened and the heart beat with a quicker throb. With only short and infrequent rests, the march was continued until about half past five, when General Hancock was met on his return from Cemetery Hill and ordered the corps into camp near Round Top Mountain, about two miles south of Gettysburg. This gave us information that the critical moment for the day at least had passed, and with a satisfaction that need not be expressed, we made preparations for a night of rest and refreshment to meet the demands of the coming day.

This is what had thus far happened: —

General Reynolds, having learned that Buford was in touch with the Confederate advance a few miles beyond and west of Gettysburg, directed the First Corps to start early on the morning of July 1, and push on rapidly to that place, with the Eleventh Corps to follow. He personally joined Buford with a small

escort about ten o'clock in the steeple of the Theological Seminary, a mile west of the village.

General Heth put his division in motion on the Chambersburg Road at daylight, with no expectation of meeting with serious opposition, but had not proceeded far before he was obliged to form in line to overcome the stubborn resistance of the cavalry. The first gun was fired at just nine o'clock, when the battle was soon after joined with the division of Wadsworth of the First Corps, which was the earliest to arrive. It was reënforced from time to time as the other divisions came up, and by the Eleventh Corps some hours later. Very early in the action General Reynolds was instantly killed by a sharpshooter a little south of the Chambersburg Pike, on the spot now covered by the beautiful monument erected to the memory of this accomplished and intrepid soldier. Three days before he had seen with pleasure one of his former division commanders placed over him at the head of the army, and at the time of his death was serving him and the cause with that perfect loyalty which amid the bickerings and jealousies so often witnessed made his loss, if possible, the more felt and regretted.

General Heth formed his division in two lines, the front consisting of the brigades of Archer and Davis; Archer was on the Confederate right of the Chambersburg Road and Davis on the left. Archer was captured, with a part of his brigade, in the woods near Willoughby Run, and soon after a good part of Davis's brigade was taken in the railroad cut and sent to the rear as prisoners. General Doubleday succeeded to the command of the corps on the death of Reynolds. For several hours the battle was between the First Corps and Heth's divi-

sion, with Pender's large division in support. It was a close though fierce contest, but the enemy were able to make no headway and suffered the heaviest losses.

The Eleventh Corps came up about one o'clock in the afternoon, and by two o'clock had formed a line at right angles to the First Corps facing north, to meet the attack of Ewell, whose advance division arrived at about half past one. There being an interval of half a mile between the two corps, Doubleday was compelled to refuse his right wing so that a part of his forces was facing north and the remainder to the west. General Doubleday says that the First Corps numbered only eight thousand men in the morning and the Eleventh, with one brigade left on Cemetery Ridge, was smaller still. The contest of the day was decided in favor of the enemy when Early came in from York and struck Barlow's division of the Eleventh Corps on the right flank. There was nothing for it to do but retreat as best it could. The First Corps was not able to contend much longer against the great numbers that were pressing on in front and around either flank, but the men held on with great tenacity and reluctantly retired to escape inevitable capture. In the battle this corps lost over six thousand men, mostly on the first day. No body of men of the same size ever suffered to the same extent during the war. Besides the brigades of Archer and Davis, it captured nearly the entire brigade of Iverson of Ewell's Corps. The shattered remnants of our forces were rallied on Cemetery Hill.

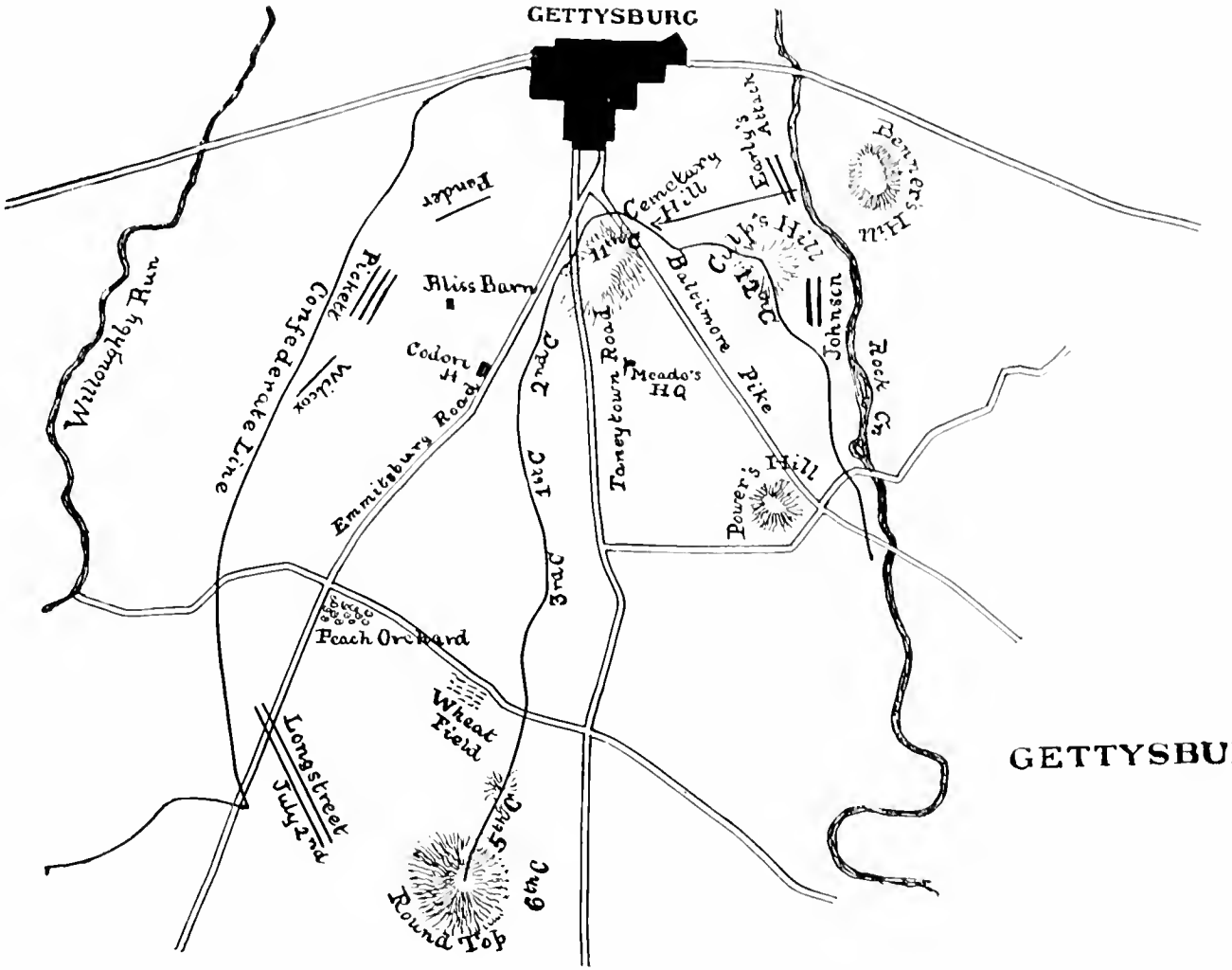
At half past three General Hancock arrived. Rapidly as he had ridden from Taneytown, his speed was none too great. His coming was most opportune, as his presence gave confidence and new cour-

age to the men, though he brought nothing with him but his own commanding presence, soldierly instincts, and resolute will. These alone were the reënforcements the occasion required. Those who have not witnessed it can have only a faint idea of the hopeless sight which a defeated and scattered army presents, and the soldier who brings order out of such chaos and restores to it in part its lost confidence possesses qualities of a high order. This is what Hancock did for the two corps he met and reformed on Cemetery Hill, making such a show of force that the enemy paused in their victorious career. At half past five Slocum arrived with his leading division, and before dark Sickles with the Third Corps joined on to the left of Doubleday, and the hour of danger had passed. Hancock had not been long on the ground before, with a sweep of the eye over the field from the top of the hill, he decided a question fraught with the nation's destiny, and made Gettysburg the great battle of the war. To the vote of thanks by Congress to General Howard, the Army of the Potomac made answer by erecting to the memory of Hancock, the prince of corps commanders, the heroic statue that crowns the summit of Cemetery Hill.

On the morning of the second we were up early, having enjoyed a good and needed rest. The sky was overcast, but the sultry air gave promise of another day of extreme heat. We had just time to eat breakfast and clean a part of the dust from our uniforms, when the corps was moved up to the position held for the next two days, facing west towards the Emmetsburg Road, the right being in front of the cemetery. General Meade arrived during the night and established army headquarters to our rear near the Bal-

timore Pike. At this time the army was posted as follows: the Twelfth Corps on the right with the First, Eleventh, Second, and Third continuing the line to the left in the order named. At one o'clock in the afternoon the Fifth Corps arrived and was placed near the right of the Twelfth, and two hours later, the Sixth Corps, after a forced march of thirty-four miles, was halted near Round Top to act as a general reserve to the army.

With the exception of Pickett's division, the whole of the Confederate Army was in front on the morning of the second, Longstreet being on the right, Hill in the centre, and Ewell on the left. It was expected that Lee with his superior numbers would not fail to attack early, before the arrival of the two large corps then on the march, but happily he did not so do until late in the day. The intervening time was a gift of fortune, and every hour of it was utilized making preparations to meet the coming shock. It was before the time when throwing up breastworks was the custom whenever near the enemy, but something of the kind was done, particularly at the right; and the regiment with one shovel threw up a line of dirt about a foot in height, which might have stopped a bullet, if a little weary of flight before reaching it. Generally it may be said that the battle was fought without artificial protection from either side. It was expected that General Sickles would connect with the Second Corps and prolong its line to Little Round Top; but by reason of part of the ground being low, he advanced his corps several hundred yards to the west, placing Humphreys's division along the Emmetsburg Road, and two brigades of his other division nearly at right angles to it, refused back as far as the "Devil's Den." There


GETTYSBURG
Willoughby Run
Confederate Line
Pickett
Wilcox
Pander
Bliss Barn
Codori H
Emmitsburg Road
Cemetery Hill
Early's Attack
Benner's Hill
Culp's Hill
Johnson
Rock Cr
Baltimore Pike
Meade's HQ
Taneytown Road
Power's Hill
Peach Orchard
Wheat Field
Longstreet
July 2nd
Round Top
1st C
2nd C
3rd C
5th C
6th C
11th C
12th C

GETTYSBURG.

has been much controversy over this action of Sickles, which it is unnecessary to allude to here. It was not in accordance with General Meade's instructions, though his chief of artillery was with Sickles when the line was established. When General Meade discovered the mistake it was too late to rectify it, and hence the second day's battle was fought at an unexpected locality. In the belief that General Lee would first seek to gain possession of Cemetery Hill, Meade had given special attention to this part of the field, and it was not until about three o'clock in the afternoon that he rode out to the left with Sickles just as the battle was commencing.

General Lee's plans were for Longstreet to attack the left, and Ewell the right of our lines at the same time, and for Hill to be in readiness to advance whenever he saw an opportunity for his men to be of use. Longstreet was expected to make the great effort, and Anderson's division of the Third Corps was placed under his command. To move his corps to the south so as to strike the left flank of the Third Corps, it was thought necessary to make a wide detour in order to escape observation, and in this way so much time was consumed that it was nearly five o'clock before his presence was shown or felt. There had of course been much skirmish firing during the day along every front, but nothing had happened to give definite evidence of what the enemy was intending to do.

Having established eleven batteries west of the Emmetsburg Road, that bore directly upon the angle made by the Third Corps at the peach orchard and enfiladed the two brigades of Ward and De Trobriand, that constituted the left wing, extending from the peach orchard to the "Devil's Den," and

Hood's division being formed at nearly a right angle to the Emmetsburg Road, Longstreet directed his formidable battery to open and the attack to commence. It was expected that, after overcoming the resistance offered by the refused line, Longstreet would be able to swing along the Emmetsburg Road, which would clear the way for a subsequent attack upon Cemetery Hill, or a movement of a powerful force between there and Round Top to the rear of the army.

Hood's division overlapped the brigades of Ward and De Trobriand by a brigade and a half, and this force turned to the right for the purpose of gaining possession of Little Round Top, which was only being used for a signal station. The remaining portion of the division kept straight forward, and first came into conflict with Ward's brigade, then De Trobriand's, both of which, after desperate fighting, were pressed back into and beyond the famous wheat-field. It was only by force of numbers that this part of the line was gained, for it was held by the men who had served under Kearney, and truer soldiers could be found nowhere. Soon after McLaws's division broke through the angle at the peach orchard, and no part of the line was thereafter tenable. About this time Sickles received a serious wound resulting in the loss of a leg, and Hood a few moments before had met with the same calamity. Barksdale, whose brigade with that of Kershaw had gained possession of the peach orchard, was killed, and the casualty list on either side ran up to the thousands. Caldwell's division from the Second Corps was sent forward by Hancock, who in turn drove the enemy back through the wheat-field, and no fiercer fighting occurred than during the desperate charges

made by the brigades led by Zook, Cross, and Brooke. Braver men never lived than these three peerless soldiers. General Zook and Colonel Cross were killed. The latter, having already made his own name and that of the Fifth New Hampshire famous, saluting Hancock, told him he was bidding him a last farewell, and rode on to meet his doom. These formidable troops were in turn compelled to give way, and Ayres and Crawford continued in turn to battle over this hotly contested ground, until at length Longstreet gave up the contest and drew off his shattered columns. He later expressed the opinion that no better fighting ever was done than what was seen on the afternoon of that second day of July.

It has already been stated that, before Hood's division had come into actual contact with Ward's brigade, a brigade and a half had broken off from the general line and moved somewhat to the right to gain possession of Little Round Top. No one familiar with the field and the positions of the two armies could for a moment doubt that its possession by the Confederate forces would have been speedily decisive of the battle.

General Warren, the graceful and accomplished chief of engineers, with a face of classic beauty and intelligence beaming from every feature, had ridden to the signal station on Little Round Top to gain a view of the battle, and, as he saw Law's brigade supported by two regiments deflect to the right, instantly divined their purpose, and, usurping an authority for which he would have suffered if it had been misapplied, ordered, in the name of General Meade, Vincent's brigade, which was moving on to the support of Sickles, to the place of danger. The story of the arrival of this brigade and that of Law

upon the top of the mountain from opposite sides at almost the same instant, the fierce and savage conflict that took place for the possession of that rough and rocky terrain, is one of the most heroic and tragic incidents of the war. In the opinion of some it was a contest that decided, not the holding of a few square rods of a rough mountain top, but the life of the nation itself. No one can look upon the graceful figure in bronze, which now stands where the living form once stood, with glass in hand looking down upon the on-coming hosts, without dropping a tear at the sad fate that was meted out to this heroic soldier at the very moment of the final victory.

When Humphreys's division, forming the right of the Third Corps, was compelled to fall back by reason of the loss of the peach orchard, it was reformed along the line of Plum Run. The front of Anderson's division was then nearly clear of troops up to the ridge in front of Cemetery Hill, which was held by the forces of Gibbon and Hays that had not thus far been engaged. A part of these two divisions had been previously sent to the assistance of Sickles, and the position was thinly covered. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and the Eighty-second New York had been sent out by General Gibbon to the Codori house, with Brown's Rhode Island Battery, and Hays had lost Willard's brigade on an order from General Hancock, who had been placed in command of the Third Corps when Sickles was wounded, and charged with the defense of the whole line from the Cemetery to Round Top.

With the field thus clear and the way apparently open, Lee ordered forward the brigades of Wilcox, Perry and Wright, to be supported by those of Posey

and Mahone. Pender's division was ordered to coöperate upon the left of the brigades of Anderson's division. For some unknown cause the brigades of Posey and Mahone did not move, and for this reason Pender is said to have held back and failed to coöperate with the forces on his right. The three brigades came on alone, Wilcox on the right, Perry in the centre, and Wright upon the left. Wright's forces met the Fifteenth Massachusetts and the Eighty-second New York at the Codori house, but after a desperate resistance by this small band, in which Colonels Ward and Huston were both killed, they were swept away, and Brown's battery was captured. The small but gallant remnants of this conquering force dashed up to the front of Webb's brigade, but they were hurled back and pursued halfway to their original position. Wilcox's brigade was nearly surrounded, and extricated itself with much difficulty, losing many prisoners. This ended the battle upon the left.

There is one incident worthy of record that took place in front of Hays's division of the Second Corps. A barn five hundred and eighty yards in front of the main line on the Bliss farm had been occupied by Confederate sharpshooters who had been for some time very annoying with their persistent and accurate firing. General Hays sent out four companies from the Twelfth New Jersey which surrounded the barn and captured the whole force, consisting of seven officers and ninety-two men. This happened at half past five in the afternoon, and has been thought by some to have been the cause of the detention of Pender's division, in front of which these sharpshooters were stationed. It might have been considered as preparatory to an attack upon his lines.

During this part of the battle the Twentieth remained inactive in the position taken in the morning, and witnessed from a distance what was taking place. Over a space nearly a mile square in its front the air was filled with bursting shells, and at times the smoke clung to the earth and shut everything from view. The shouts of the combatants could be heard above the roar of the battle, and from the well-remembered "rebel yell" it was not difficult to tell which army was receiving and which was driving home the charge. The retreat of Humphreys's division from the Emmetsburg Road was in clear view and gave the impression of a serious reverse; but when Caldwell's division proudly moved to the front and Ayres's regulars in splendid order turned around the northern face of Round Top, we felt that if human valor could turn the tide, it would be done by these men.

It was on this day that Lee missed his right arm in the person of Stonewall Jackson. For the purpose of exciting alarm and creating confusion in the Federal ranks, as well as for the ultimate results sought to be achieved, it was intended to make the attacks on the right and left simultaneous. The Confederate line, being the outer one of the circle, was nearly seven miles in length. For good reasons the Confederate chieftain remained on the right, and left the conduct of the assault upon the Federal right to Ewell. In the morning the Confederate Second Corps was drawn up on a line running through the village of Gettysburg, extending a long distance to the east and facing to the south. Johnson's division, the only one that had not been engaged, was ordered to work its way along Rock Creek until it reached the eastern face of Culp's Hill, break through

our lines at that point, and plant itself firmly on the hill. As it swept around it was necessarily separated from the rest of the corps, leaving an interval of nearly a mile between the two parts. Successfully to execute such an order required a leader of the Jackson type, or at least that the column should receive an impulse from such as he. Ewell was then laboring under the disability arising from the loss of a leg, and, though still a capable and resolute soldier, had lost something of his early force and energy. Johnson did not start soon enough, or else was slow in his movements and preparations, for he was not ready until the sound of battle had died away along the Emmetsburg Road. What is more strange and more difficult of explanation, the divisions of Early and Rodes, that were expected to carry Cemetery Hill, or at least attempt it, at the same time, had not been formed, and for once Lee saw the machinery of his army out of gear and its various parts acting inharmoniously.

Unfortunately, there were also mistakes made on our side, for late in the day, too late for any use, a part of the Twelfth Corps had been withdrawn from Culp's Hill and by some one's fault had not been ordered to return; so that when Johnson commenced his attack he found a part of our works unoccupied and entered them unopposed. Everywhere else his men were thrown back, and many were killed and wounded in front of Wadsworth's division and Green's brigade of the Twelfth Corps. Owing to the darkness no advantage could be taken of the easy conquest of a part of our intrenchments, but the enemy retained them during the night.

The assault on Cemetery Hill was made by two brigades of Early's division at about the same time

the engagement was going on between Johnson and Wadsworth and Green. It was preceded by a duel between the artillery on Benner's Hill and our own, but it did not last long, as the Confederates were overmatched and compelled to retire. Hays's brigade on the right and Hoke's on the left dashed up the hill in face of our guns in the most gallant style, ran over the troops of the Eleventh Corps at the foot of the hill, captured Weidrick's battery, and spiked two of Rickett's guns. Hancock sent Carroll from his own line to repair this disaster, and this impetuous leader, moving his brigade into the rear of the captured position, soon sent the enemy down the hill in confusion. Gordon's supporting column had hardly got started when, seeing the return of their defeated comrades, they stopped; and the divisions of Rodes and Pender, considering the assault at an end, did not advance. And so ended the battle of the second day.

As the sound of these two last engagements reached us directly from the rear, the fear of a flank attack, for which the Confederates had become famous, was naturally excited, and there was much apprehension for a while lest the enemy should break through on the right or make a lodgment to the rear, in which case a retreat would be not only necessary but extremely difficult. It was long after dark when the firing died away and the anomalous condition existed of a brigade or more of Johnson's division occupying a part of our rifle-pits during the night, flanked on either side by our own troops, so near together that they could toss biscuits to each other had they been so minded. It is said that little squads of blue and gray passed each other and almost mingled as each went to Spangler's Spring for water.

During the whole of the second Company G was thrown out to the front on picket duty, where Captain Patten, Lieutenant Cowgill, and Sergeant Magnitsky were severely wounded; but as the enemy were coming on, the latter succeeded in crawling into the Codori house and concealing himself while the building was in their possession. During the night he crawled back to the regiment, and was cared for in the regimental hospital.

With the exception of Company G the regiment had thus far met with only a few casualties, but among the number was Colonel Revere, who was killed by a shell during the attack of Anderson's division late in the afternoon. About ten thousand men had been killed and wounded on each side during the day, and when night came they were still lying between the lines. What was a time for rest and sleep to the larger part of the army was a busy period for those whose duty it was to bury the dead and care for the wounded. The thin veil of clouds that shut out the sun by day now hid the stars, making the work of relief all the more difficult. The mile-wide valley between the Cemetery and Seminary ridges, scattered over from edge to edge with so many sufferers, was merely a stretch of darkness; every landmark so easily distinguishable by day — fences, trees, orchards, houses — all were obscured and lost to sight by the great blanket that covered the earth. Across it, here and there, like a distant star, was occasionally seen a light, glimmering for a moment and then disappearing as if a cloud had passed over it.

As the battle was not ended until after dark, it was late before the work of relief was begun. Then was heard the rumbling of wagon wheels behind, and soon hundreds of ambulances were drawn up in rear of

the lines, and with them came surgeons, hospital stewards, and stretcher-bearers without number. With their lighted lanterns they passed to the front and scattered over the valley, seeking out the wounded, and everywhere finding a full harvest. From the other side came the Confederate surgeons and their assistants, who scattering likewise over the hither fields, soon filled the mile-square space between the two armies with wandering jets of light. The air, without motion, was still hot and stifling. The silence of the night, in contrast with the uproar and fury of the day, was more than ordinarily solemn and impressive. With no evidence of the fierce strife now visible, one could readily imagine that he was looking out upon a broad and peaceful meadow filled with a swarm of fireflies. These wandering lights were seen all through the night, and when morning came the work of relief was still unfinished.

Before daybreak we were roused by the roar of the artillery in rear of us. It was necessary to drive the enemy from the position where they had made a lodgment on our right, and no time was lost in making the attempt. Ewell was unwilling to lose the foothold he had secured, and sent two of his best brigades to reënforce Johnson. General Geary, the withdrawal of whose division made the unfortunate gap which the enemy occupied, returned during the night, but learning the condition of things, halted in rear of his former position, and made ready to contest with Johnson the right of its possession. It was Geary's artillery which we heard at such an unseasonable hour of the morning. Owing to the roughness of the ground, the woods, and the stream, the enemy had no artillery, which put them to a great disadvantage. Occupying the space between Culp's and Power hills, known as

the "swale," Johnson found that his troops were in a very uncomfortable position, and must either retire or gain ground to the front. Adopting the last alternative, he ordered the Stonewall brigade, which was in front, to charge and the others to push forward in support. For two hours or more his men kept up a close and sharp contest with Geary's division among the rocks and trees; but being able to make no headway and seeing other troops moving to Rock Creek for the purpose of cutting off his retreat, Johnson reluctantly gave the order to retire, which was accomplished after serious loss.

The Union lines were once more established, and the two attacks planned for the second had failed.

Each army had suffered severe losses, and it is not possible to tell which suffered most. Every Confederate division then on the field had been engaged, while the Sixth Corps of the Federal Army had not fired a shot, and there were several brigades that were still fresh and capable of great exertions. A council of war was held during the evening of the second; and though our line was then broken and held, no one thought of retreating.

For many hours after Geary gained possession of his own works an almost ominous silence prevailed. The skirmishers from either side were well out to the front, and an occasional shot was hardly noticed. The sun rose up and passed through a cloudless sky and the day was very hot, but sun and heat were not much considered. The contest was not ended, and every thought was, not of slight discomforts, but when, how, and where the struggle was to be renewed. That it would be renewed no one doubted. The South would not well receive news that Lee had a second time crossed the Potomac and retired after an un-

finished battle with only some Pennsylvania horses, a supply of provisions, and a little money levied on the city of York to show after such great preparations. For a long time there was nothing even seen or heard to indicate what might be expected. We remained behind the rail fence looking across the green fields toward the Seminary Ridge, admiring the rich and rural landscape spread out around us. It seemed a pity that our rough plowshares should break up those beautiful slopes and valleys out of season, and disturb the quiet people whose homes were scattered over them with the clamor of war. But General Lee would have it so, and we accepted his challenge.

During the forenoon the profound silence was twice broken in front of General Hays's division of our corps, once in the morning and a second time about four hours later. The Confederate skirmishers had again taken possession of the Bliss barn, a post too near to suit General Hays. He sent out a detachment from the Twelfth New Jersey which captured the barn and all the men in it. It having again become occupied, Hays determined to make an end of all trouble from that quarter, and sent a part of the Fourteenth Connecticut, which not only captured the inmates, but burnt the barns. These two incidents took place between the lines, and were witnessed by thousands on either side. General Hays went along with his men on horseback, and personally superintended their movements.

The events above described were the only ones of importance that occurred for many hours. Early in the morning General Meade made the circuit of his lines, and often stopped his horse to scan carefully with a glass the field in front. He rode up to Han-

cock, who was on the Second Corps line, and expressed to him the belief that the next attack would be made on his right. He said that Lee had a fondness for making flank attacks, and would not be likely to expose his troops to the powerful artillery fire they would meet in a movement against the centre. Hancock was of the opinion that along his front the battle would open. After this interchange of views he rode on towards Round Top. The whole army had an opportunity of seeing their new commander during this morning ride. His face was calm, with no trace of excitement or anxiety about it, and his quiet mien gave confidence to the men in the ranks.

During the early hours the field presented an animated and novel picture. But for the implements of war it would have appeared like a country fair on a colossal scale. The right of the line, turning back south of the village and running along the ridge of Culp's to Powers Hill, enclosed a space less than a mile in width, which was covered over with ambulances, wagons, reserve artillery, — the greater part of the impedimenta of the army. Scattered about were thousands of horses with saddles on, mules in harness, hitched to fences, trees, wagon wheels, and stakes driven in the ground, munching the hay and grain that had been fed out to them. The higher officers generally established their headquarters just in rear of their respective commands, the central feature of which was an ambulance. Generals Hancock and Gibbon used one in common, and slept together on its floor. Their staff officers were grouped about it on the ground. The men slept in rear of the walls and fences, not caring for shelter in such weather, and the regimental officers did the same. Seventy thousand muskets, with bayonets fixed, stacked in a

row four miles long, marked the line where seventy thousand men would stand when the battle note should be sounded. Behind, and at intervals between, was placed the artillery, rifled and smooth bored, six, twelve, and twenty pounders — brass and iron pieces of every make. The cemetery on the hill was crowded with them, forty-eight in number. They looked queerly out of place there, with their black muzzles peering out between the white marble slabs, and pointing threateningly at the opposite heights. In Ziegler's Grove at the base of the hill was Woodruff, with Battery I of the First U. S. Artillery; at the angle Cushing, with Battery A of the Fourth, and near the left of our brigade was Rorty with his guns well served by volunteers, each of whom in a few hours would no longer be among the living. The infantryman loves to see the big guns close by him, for though only one wound and one death out of twelve is caused by them, their loud voices furnish a music he delights to hear when thundering along a line he is defending.

As the morning wore away and midday was approaching, the sun beat down so fiercely on the bare ridge, the men took out their canvas sheets and fastened them up with sticks or the bayonet for shelter. By a sudden transformation the green hills all at once became white. By noon the activities and work of the morning was over, and the army lolled, sweltered, and waited under the tropical sun.

Just in rear of the Twentieth, at noon, General Gibbon had his dinner served. An old mess chest was used for a table. There were two stools occupied by Gibbon and Hancock. The staff sat on the ground. Very soon General Meade rode up and was invited to join. An old cracker box was found which served

as a seat for the commander of the Army of the Potomac. Then came Generals Newton and Pleasanton with a number of aides, who were also invited; but as no seats were to be had, they were obliged to stand or sit on the ground. They discussed during the frugal meal the battle of the previous day, and expressed their views of what was likely soon to happen. The general feeling was hopeful. Gibbon had for the first time been in command of the corps the day before, and Newton chaffed him with putting on airs on account of his high station. As soon as cigars were lighted, Meade rode away, and this historic dinner party soon after broke up.

During all these hours of peace and quiet General Lee, unseen and unheard, was making preparations for one last effort. Pickett's division joined Longstreet's corps during the evening, a fine body of troops composed entirely of Virginia regiments, that had been left at Chambersburg to guard the trains. Never were brave men led by a more gallant commander. Pickett possessed the very qualities required for the desperate work he was now called upon to perform. With all the dash of a cavalry leader, a quick eye to detect a weak spot in a battle line, and a trained mind to meet the shifting conditions that suddenly arise in the heat and fury of a close conflict, no better captain could have been found among the peerless soldiers that had so long served under Lee, to lead and direct the formidable array that was soon to be launched against the centre of our position. It was singular that the one chosen to be at the head of the most powerful Confederate column organized during the war should have received his cadet appointment to West Point at the hands of President Lincoln. One of the first acts the latter did on the 4th of April,

when he visited Richmond after its occupation, was to seek out and make a call upon the young wife of his old friend, George Pickett, as he used to call him, who was then living with her little babe in that city.

It was fortunate that the troops holding the position against which this force was aimed were under one who stood without a peer in the Army of the Potomac as a corps commander, General Hancock.

At just one o'clock two guns broke the long suspense, and gave notice from what point the storm was likely to break forth. When an army is in position ready and waiting for an attack, the general feeling is that the sooner it commences the better. All nervousness and unrest at once disappear, as soon as the action is begun, for other thoughts crowd out doubt and fear and nerve the men up to meet the occasion. Almost immediately the great battery of eighty guns directly opposite the Second and Third Divisions of our corps, which had been brought into position during the forenoon, commenced a rapid discharge of shot and shell, and to the right and left along Seminary Ridge every gun that could be brought to bear joined to swell the mighty chorus. They were all concentrated upon the narrow front of two divisions on the western face of Cemetery Hill. The commotion made in the rear of the line where there were many non-combatants was something wonderful to behold. Hundreds of army wagons belonging to the commissary and quartermaster's departments and many sutlers' teams of every kind and description were put to instant flight, and one, looking to the rear alone, would have thought that a defeated and panic-stricken army was making a hasty and disorderly retreat. General Meade was driven from his headquarters a few rods behind the Second Corps on the

Baltimore Pike, and sought a safer point of observation on Powers Hill. There was soon nothing left but the long thin line of fighting men between Cemetery Hill and Little Round Top, invisible to the enemy as they held tightly in hand their muskets behind the stone wall and the rail fence, covered with a few shovelfuls of earth, and the artillery that stood out in the open. For two hours we lay behind our slight defenses with the air roaring and growling in our ears as if enraged with pain by the ragged iron that lashed and tore it in its flight. It was thought that at Malvern Hill, Antietam, and Fredericksburg we had heard war at its loudest note, but now we learned that it had been playing only on one of its minor keys up to this time, and perhaps never since have so many guns been concentrated on so narrow a space. Yet the effect was hardly commensurate with the noise and turmoil. The infantry did not suffer greatly, only four or five being hit in the regiment, but the artillery, being exposed, bore the heavy brunt of the loss. Eleven of our caissons were blown up, and two hundred and fifty horses belonging to the five batteries of the Second Corps were killed. Many men fell while working the guns and bringing up the ammunition, but not one left his post. So fine a spirit had never before been manifested.

It was hoped and expected that this long continued and heavy cannonade would break down our defenses, such as they were, thin the lines, discourage and demoralize our forces, and thus prepare the way to success for the great columns which were to be launched against Cemetery Hill. As on the second day, Longstreet was still the right arm of Lee. To him was confided the task of forming the great column of attack which was to be ready to move the

moment the artillery became silent. He has described with clearness and much force the emotions which overmastered him on this occasion. He endeavored to persuade his commander to abandon his plans, which seemed to him without promise of success, and to substitute others less fraught with danger, but his advice was not heeded. For two hours he had watched the effect of his powerful artillery, but was not deceived, as were many about him, when General Hunt ordered our guns to stop firing, into the belief that they had been silenced. He tells us that when the time had come for Pickett to advance he was so overcome by his emotions at what he believed was to be the fate of his brave men, that he could not speak and a nod of his head was taken as the signal to start.

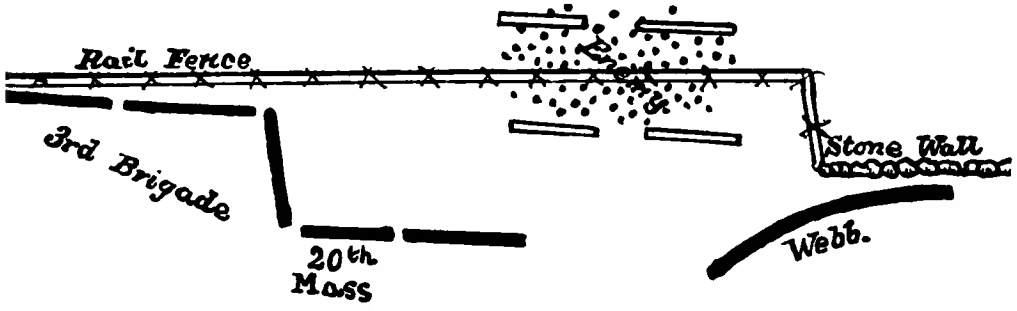
When the Confederate artillery ceased we saw the infantry emerge from the woods a mile in front, and knew that the great trial would soon be upon us. During the interval General Hunt substituted one or more batteries for those disabled, and replenished the ammunition chests. Pickett's division, the brigades of Garnett and Kemper forming the first line, and that of Armistead the second, first appeared, and then Pettigrew's division was discovered on his left. Following behind Pickett at a short distance was the division of Heth, now commanded by Pender; and as a guard to his right, the brigade of Wilcox, a little belated it is said, took up its line of march. In a few moments the seventeen thousand men had cleared the woods, and were in full view coming forward in splendid alignment to dispute with the Second Corps the possession of our works. It was a splendid spectacle, and one calculated to make less brave men fear and tremble. For nearly a third of the way this

advance was practically unopposed, for the batteries of the Second Corps had nothing but canister left, and it would not answer to waste one of those precious charges. The guns to the right and left were not so circumstanced, and they first began to use solid shot, and as the enemy approached nearer fired shells and canister, as best suited to the distance. At the Emmetsburg Road our skirmishers emptied their muskets and retired to the main line.

When the first line was within two or three hundred yards of our position, the musketry fire was tremendous in volume and very effective. Hundreds fell at every discharge, and as Stannard's brigade struck the column on the left, the men crowded toward the centre; and before the stone wall, behind which stood Webb's brigade, was reached, all alignment had disappeared and a great mass of men came rushing on with the heroic Armistead at their head waving his sword, and in a moment they were in the midst of our guns with their standards planted on our works. It was, however, no longer an organized force, with every one in his place subject to the voice of command, and capable of an exertion equal to its numbers, but a broken and disorganized body, crowded together into a narrow space, where only a small part could make effective use of their weapons. The weak and timid spirits had fallen out by the way, and the bravest of the brave were those who had dispossessed Webb's men of a part of their works, and were now ready to risk their lives in holding them. Then followed a contest the like of which did not occur during the war except at the "bloody angle" at Spottsylvania, and there, too, was Hancock and the Second Corps. The brigade of Webb was not scattered, but pressed back a short distance from the

wall, forming a curved line covering part of the position won by Pickett's men, and leaving a space next to our brigade uncovered. Colonel Hall quickly moved his brigade by the right flank a little to the rear, so that when halted and brought to the front, it formed another curved line, and the two brigades nearly joined, making a half circle about the enemy. The opposing forces were but a few yards apart, and the conflict between them was what may without exaggeration be called desperate.

The following diagram will give a better idea of the situation at this moment than can be conveyed by words. It was drawn by Colonel Hall and sent in with the report describing the part taken by his brigade in the battle.



From the moment that the men of the Twentieth commenced firing, the smoke was so thick that little could be seen, but there was no trouble in making it effective, for not less than three thousand men formed a vast crowd in front. The noise and turmoil were such that commands could not be heard, and every one fought in his own way. Eager men broke from the line and pushed up close to the enemy, until all appearance of formation was lost, and the regiment was no longer an organization. In little groups or singly these heroic soldiers stood up to the work and poured forth the deadly bullets, unconsciously moving forward until in actual contact,

when they used the butts of their muskets and in this manner beat down the foe. No one can tell exactly how long this contest lasted, but Major Abbott, than whom no braver soldier stood on Cemetery Ridge that day, or one better qualified by his coolness to give a correct estimate, reported that it was about thirty minutes. Whether more or less it is useless to attempt to determine, but the time came when the survivors of Pickett's men saw that further effort was useless, and fourteen hundred of them surrendered in close proximity to the rail fence. Others attempted escape and were pursued by our victorious troops as far as the Emmetsburg Road, and many more prisoners were taken by the way.

Heth's division commanded by Pettigrew marched bravely to the left of Pickett's, which brought it in front of Hays's division on our right, but the withering fire it received from behind the stone wall, and from the artillery, which struck it in front and on the flank, stopped the advance and soon sent the victors of the first day fleeing from our lines in a disorganized and hopeless rout. Trimble's forces, which marched in rear of Pickett, though suffering less than the others, were completely broken and put to flight. Wilcox's brigade, which for some reason started late while the field was covered with disorganized troops in hasty retreat to their own lines, probably unaware of the fate which had overtaken their comrades, still pressed forward far to the right, and continued on until they were nearly surrounded, when they faced about and no longer was there a Confederate soldier who had not been put out of the fight. Thus ended the great battle of Gettysburg.

The fruits of the victory were great. The Second Corps took thirty-three regimental standards and

four thousand prisoners. The dead and wounded covered the field like a blanket. In Pender's division every field officer but three had been killed, wounded, or captured. Pickett's report was so distressful to read, presenting such a picture of death, wounds, broken columns, and shattered hopes, that at the earnest request of General Lee it was suppressed and never published. The three days resulted in a loss to the Confederate Army, according to the careful computation of Colonel Livermore, of twenty-eight thousand and sixty-three in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and to the Union Army of twenty-three thousand and forty-nine.

When the regiment returned to its position in the evening there were but three officers with it; on the morning of the first day there were thirteen. Seven company commanders had been killed or wounded. Captain Patten and Second Lieutenant Cowgill were wounded in the skirmish line during the afternoon of the second. During the bombardment of the third day Colonel Paul J. Revere was wounded by a shell and died two days later. In the death of this officer the regiment met with a great loss. Joining it originally as major, he had subsequently been upon the staff of General Sumner as assistant inspector-general of the Second Corps, where he had rendered much valuable service, and had only returned to the Twentieth on the 18th of the previous April, to become its third commander. With the wide experience that had come to him thus early, added to his great natural gifts and that pure and sweet nature that won for him respect and admiration from all who were admitted to his intimacy, he was a worthy successor to the two superior officers who had preceded him — Colonels Lee and Palfrey.

There were in the battle thirteen officers and two hundred and thirty men, of which number thirty-one were killed, ninety-three wounded, and three missing, in accordance with the following list: —

FIELD AND STAFF, Killed: Colonel Paul J. Revere. Wounded: Lieutenant-Colonel George N. Macy; Adjutant William H. Walker.

COMPANY A. Killed: First Sergeant George F. Cate; Privates Thomas Kelley, George L. Plant. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Lansing E. Hibbard; Corporals Joshua Besse, 2d, John C. Orcutt, James Sullivan; Privates Oliver S. Bates, Bradford W. Beal, Martin Coon, Michael Gleason, James R. Hamilton, Leonard Harrington, Levi Lamson, Jr., Michael Harty, James K. Morse, Daniel Murphy, James R. Russell, Stephen B. Stewart, Thomas C. Tiernan, Lyman F. Tilton, George E. Wood.

COMPANY B. Killed: First Sergeant George Joeckel; Privates Clemens Weisensee, John Dippolt. Wounded: Corporal Jacob Pfeiffer; Private Christian Wagner.

COMPANY C. Killed: Corporal Jacob Schlicker; Privates August Duttling, Alois Kraft. Wounded: First Sergeant James T. Goulding; Sergeant Patrick Huite; Privates Franz Huhn, Adolph Kernberger.

COMPANY D. Killed: Privates Alexander Aiken, William Inch, John Lovering, George Lucas, John Neary. Wounded: Captain Henry L. Patten; Sergeants J. Proctor, Charles J. Curtis; Privates John Brown, Hiram V. Howard, Edward Kestin, Marcus J. Long, Patrick Manning, John E. Murphy, Albert W. Stetson, James G. Warren.

COMPANY E. Killed: Corporal James C. Somerville; Privates Thomas Downing, Jonathan F. Lucas. Wounded: First Sergeant William H. Carroll; Sergeant Charles F. Carpenter; Corporals Patrick Gorman, Arthur Johnson, Philip McGuire; Privates Malachi Garrity, Benjamin F. Hanaford, Moses H. Gale.

COMPANY F. Killed: Corporal Eugene McLaughlin; Pri-

vates Thomas R. Gallivan, Peter Keefe, James Lane, John McLean, Patrick Quinlan, Felix Riley. Wounded: Second Lieutenant John Kelliher; Corporals Arthur Hughes, David Leonard, John Powers; Privates Timothy Buckley, Patrick Fee, Thomas A. King, Edward McGrath, Thomas Woodman.

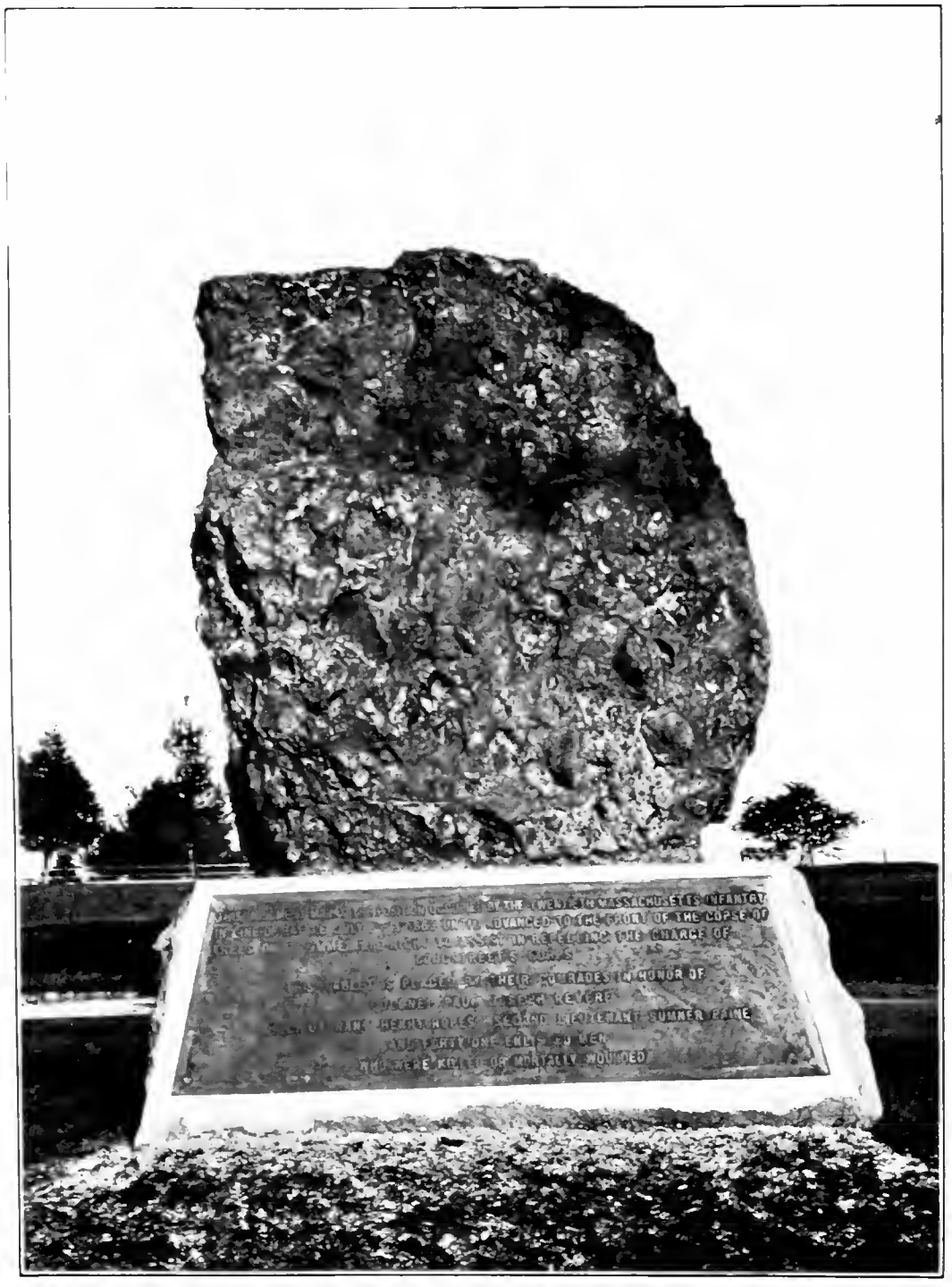
COMPANY G. Killed: Privates Edward Barry, James O'Brien, Morgan Sweeney. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Charles Cowgill; First Sergeant Gustave Magnitsky; Sergeant Luke Miller; Corporal Patrick Coughlin; Private Thomas Glacken.

COMPANY H. Killed: Privates Michael Kinark, Hugh Blain. Wounded: Captain Herbert C. Mason: First Sergeant Edward Welton; Privates Thomas Donovan, Daniel Foley, Stephen Longfellow, Timothy Wiley.

COMPANY I. Killed: Second Lieutenant Sumner Paine; Corporal Elisha M. Smith; Privates Horace P. Burrill, Horatio L. Fay, William F Hill, Henry Jones. Wounded: Sergeants Benjamin B. Pease, Patrick Lanergan; Corporal William B. Low; Privates James Barry, Samuel Christian, Daniel B. Chase, Daniel McAdams, William B. Parker. Peter Williams, Arthur M. Rivers. Missing: Private William H. Barrett.

COMPANY K. Killed: First Lieutenant Henry Ropes; Privates Charles Hearney, George S. Sawtelle, John I. Burke. Wounded: First Sergeant Joseph H. Parker; Corporal Lishur G. White; Privates Thomas Broinham, Peter Kennan, Benjamin Jones, Chester A. Leonard, Marcus T. C. Miles, Edward Murphy.

THIS MONUMENT MARKS THE POSITION OCCUPIED BY THE TWENTIETH MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY
IN LINE OF BATTLE JULY 2D. AND 3D. 1863 UNTIL ADVANCED TO THE FRONT OF THE COPSE OF
TREES ON ITS IMMEDIATE RIGHT TO ASSIST IN REPELLING THE CHARGE OF
LONGSTREET'S CORPS
THIS TABLET IS PLACED BY THEIR COMRADES IN HONOR OF
COLONEL PAUL JOSEPH REVERE
FIRST LIEUTENANT HENRY ROPES SECOND LIEUTENANT SUMNER PAINE
AND FORTY-ONE ENLISTED MEN
WHO WERE KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED


MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY
ADVANCED TO THE FRONT OF THE COPSE OF
THE CHARGE OF
THEIR COMRADES IN HONOR OF
SUMNER PAINE
ONE ENLISTED MEN
WHO WERE KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED

CHAPTER XIII

FROM GETTYSBURG TO THE RAPIDAN

THE day after the battle a violent rainstorm came on, drenching the earth and covering the lowlands with pools of water, which caused much discomfort and suffering to the wounded in the hospitals, and more to those lying unsheltered on the ground. Ewell's corps withdrew from our right and took up a line in prolongation of that of Longstreet along Seminary Ridge covering the Chambersburg Road. The Eleventh Corps occupied the town upon the withdrawal of the enemy, but nothing further of importance occurred during the day. The Confederate forces retreated the following night along the three roads leading over the South Mountains, and in the morning were followed over the Fairfield route by the Sixth Corps and part of the cavalry; but direct pursuit was discontinued, and on the 7th the army was set in motion along the east side of the mountain ridge by way of Frederick. The advantages of this flank march were that our forces were interposed between the enemy and the capital, while their march was unimpeded. This course was adopted on the advice of so good a soldier as General Sedgwick, who, having come up with the enemy at the foot of the mountains, had found them concentrated at the pass. It involved a much longer route and the probability of Lee crossing the Potomac before he could be overtaken, which, in fact,

he would have done, but for the destruction of the pontoon bridge at Falling Waters by General French and the high state of the water occasioned by the heavy fall of rain on the fourth. Four corps of the army were across Antietam Creek by the night of the 10th, and on the following day all our forces were in close proximity to the enemy, who had taken up and intrenched a strong position covering the crossings of the river.

General William Hays was temporarily assigned to the command of the Second Corps, owing to the wounding of its commander, the gallant Hancock. The Twentieth had lost in the battle one hundred and fifteen officers and men, and was in numbers little more than a company. Major Abbott succeeded to its command and retained this position until his death in the Wilderness on the 6th of May, 1864. Only three of its commissioned officers had escaped uninjured. The regiment moved on the evening of the fifth to Two Taverns, on the seventh to Taneytown, on the eighth to Frederick City, on the ninth to Rohrersville, on the 10th to Tilghmanton, and from there on the 11th came into line with the corps in front of the enemy. For three days after leaving Gettysburg we followed practically the same route we had taken in our pursuit of Lee to that place, and from that time on we were passing over the mountains and through the valleys that had become familiar to us in the campaign of the previous year, which culminated at Antietam. The marches had been hard, but there was no complaining, for the great victory had inspired the men and made them feel that the end of the war was no longer doubtful and nearer at hand than it was destined to be.

Gettysburg, followed in a few days by news of

the fall of Vicksburg, wrought the nation up to a high state of excitement, and after two such victories it was thought that the Confederacy, disheartened and weakened by such heavy losses, would not be able to contend much longer with the power and resources of the Federal government. Such pleasurable emotions were felt at the achievements accomplished that the appetite for more was intense, and there grew up in the public mind a demand that the crowning blow that was to restore the national authority over every rood of our territory should not be delayed. As a consequence, when, on the morning of the 14th of July, it was found that Lee had crossed the Potomac without a battle, there was not a little disposition shown to criticise General Meade for what was thought to be his lack of enterprise and the absence of that audacious courage which brings applause when successful, and is regarded as foolhardiness when coupled with disaster. It has been said before that there are no subjects upon which the public is so little qualified to form an opinion as those connected with military operations, and the criticisms so freely made on General Meade in reference to this part of his career were not sanctioned or approved by the army. A careful examination of the lines behind which the Confederate forces had taken their position was made by our best officers after the evacuation, and the opinion was practically unanimous that to have attacked them on the 12th or 13th would have resulted in disaster.

Lee followed the Shenandoah Valley in this retreat, as he had done the previous year, and General Meade adopted the same route in pursuit that McClellan had taken after Antietam. There was,

however, no delay. On the 17th and 18th the Army of the Potomac crossed the river at Harper's Ferry and a little below, at Berlin, on pontoon bridges, moving along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge and occupying all the mountain passes through which either army must march to reach the other.

Lee, fearing that he might be cut off from his railroad communications, hastened up the valley, and on the 20th was at Culpeper Court House with Longstreet and Hill, being joined soon after by Ewell, who returned from an unsuccessful attempt to capture a force under General Kelly that was stationed along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The Twentieth moved to Sandy Hook on the 15th, where it remained the two following days. On the 18th it crossed the Potomac, following the route already mentioned as taken by the army, and moved to Hillsborough. On the 19th it reached Woodgrove, and on the night of the 20th encamped at Bloomfield, where it remained during the following day. On the 22d an early start was made and Paris reached during the day; on the 23d it arrived at Linden; on the 24th at Markham Station; and on the 25th at White Plains. Germantown was occupied on the 26th, where it rested for three days, and then moved on to Elk Run and reached the Rappahannock on the 31st. The Army of the Potomac was now holding the north bank of the river, and Lee guarded its crossings for many miles up and down, the two armies being in the same relative positions which they had held during the previous winter about fifty miles further down the stream. The campaign of Gettysburg was closed.

General Meade was directed by the Washington

authorities to take up and hold a threatening attitude along the Rappahannock, but not to move for the purpose of attacking the enemy. What the reasons were for such an order, whether good or bad, has never been known, and in all probability will never be revealed. It certainly was not at the request nor in accordance with the wishes of General Meade, who was desirous of delivering a blow whenever and wherever the opportunity offered. The staff and administrative departments of the army had now arrived at such a state of efficiency that it was able to move in any direction at the shortest notice. General Lee subsequently withdrew to the south side of the Rapidan, and on the 13th of September the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rappahannock, taking up a position near Culpeper Court House, with the Second and Sixth corps thrown forward to the Rapidan. While in occupation of the country between the two rivers, the Eleventh and Twelfth corps were detached and sent under command of General Hooker to the assistance of General Rosecrans at Chattanooga. This happened in consequence of Lee having sent Longstreet's corps to that vicinity, where it took part in the battle of Chickamauga on the 19th of September.

The army having been strengthened by a considerable number of recruits and the return of some of the forces that had been on detached duty, preparations were being made for a movement by the right against Lee when information was received that the Confederate Army was about to make an attempt to get in our rear and cut off communications with Washington. As this information proved to be correct, it was necessary at once to abandon the aggressive and assume a defensive attitude. It would

never do to fight a battle with the enemy between us and the capital. This had been the one requirement that was felt to be imperative by every commander of the Army of the Potomac.

In the manœuvring which followed, General Meade was to prove that he was as good a tactician as General Lee; and though no great achievements were won on either side, it is admitted that the honors, such as they were, were on the side of the Federal commander. It was the hope of General Lee that by making a wide detour he might pass by the right of the army undiscovered, as General Jackson did in 1862, and after gaining a position between it and Washington compel a battle on ground of his own choosing.

In pursuance of this plan of operations, the Confederate Army crossed the Rapidan on the 9th of October and advanced by way of Madison Court House, reaching the upper Rappahannock on the 12th, and without much difficulty effected a crossing at Sulphur Springs and Waterloo. On the following day the march was resumed along the Warrenton Pike with the design of reaching the Orange and Alexandria Railroad at or near Bristoe Station in advance of our forces.

It was not until the evening of the 10th that the movement was sufficiently advanced to make probable what were the objects General Lee was attempting to accomplish, and on the following day the Army of the Potomac fell back to the north bank of the Rappahannock. Our cavalry, which at this time was guarding the rear, fell in with the Confederate cavalry under Stuart at Brandy Station, where a sharp engagement ensued. This led General Pleasanton into the belief that the enemy was mov-

ing directly to attack us, instead of by the flank, and upon his report the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps were turned back and ordered to march in all haste to Brandy Station. This was unfortunate, for during the evening of the 12th General Gregg, commanding the Second Cavalry Division, reported that General Lee had crossed the river and was advancing with his army towards Warrenton.

The army was again headed towards Washington, and by the evening of the 12th the three corps that had been sent to Brandy Station were encamped about Bealton. A whole day had been wasted by the false impression contained in the despatch of General Pleasanton, and the men had suffered from the weariness and hardship of an unnecessary march. With only a few hours for rest, the order was given to fall in, and we were soon on the road for Fayetteville, which was reached about six o'clock on the morning of the 13th. Sleep had hardly closed the eyes of a single man for twenty-four hours, but after a few moments allowed for making coffee, the corps was again put in motion and hurried along as fast as possible during the day, for from the known position of Lee on the Warrenton Pike it was greatly feared that he would be able to intercept our retreat and place his army in a strong position between us and Washington. It was not until nine o'clock in the evening that we were permitted to go into camp near the little village of Auburn, just west of Cedar Run. For nearly forty-eight hours the corps had been on the march, and not a soldier had been able to sleep for more than an hour or two. This is still remembered by the surviving members of the Twentieth as the most trying day of their experience during the war, when not engaged in battle. The fol-

lowing day the Second Corps was to form the rear guard of the army. At 10.30 P. M. of the 13th General Meade issued a circular order for the army to be massed at Centreville, if practicable. Somewhat later a confidential circular was sent to each corps commander informing him that Lee was moving on our left flank, and that every precaution must be taken to guard against an attack during the movements prescribed for the next day. The short distance between the roads to be followed by either army rendered a conflict liable to occur at almost any hour.

The Twentieth was called up between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, and at the earliest light, in a dense fog, was on its way to cross Cedar Run, near the village of Auburn. The corps, with all its trains, passed safely over the stream; and as it was necessary to guard and reconnoitre the roads running to Warrenton and Greenville, from which points danger was to be expected, Caldwell's division, being in the rear, was halted and massed on a bald hill near the road, while the other two divisions continued on towards Catlett's Station.

Brooke's brigade was thrown out as skirmishers to cover the angle made by the Warrenton and Greenville roads, and it was only a short time before the presence of the enemy was felt in the advance of Ewell's corps. The other brigades of the division, while resting on the hill, were cooking their coffee (as the whole corps had been put on the march as soon as the men were awakened and formed in line), when down the road from the direction of our march an artillery fire burst forth, and so accurate was the aim that the shells dropped into the midst of Caldwell's men with fatal effect.

This was altogether a surprise and quite unexplainable. A force of the enemy had interposed and apparently cut off the means of retreat, while Ewell's corps was rapidly concentrating and pressing back the skirmish line from an opposite direction on the same road. There was no way out of the difficulty except to force a passage through the opposing troops, and General Hays in the front was not slow in finding out the audacious foe who had so unexpectedly appeared to oppose our march to Catlett's. It proved to be General Stuart with part of his cavalry division, who on the previous evening, having found himself hemmed in between two of our corps, concealed his presence in a pine wood near the road, and with the first light of day discovering Caldwell's division massed near by, had opened his guns and for a moment thrown us into some confusion; but the gallant Hays quickly brushed aside the horsemen, and the corps was again on the road to Catlett's, which it reached about noon.

While there a message was received from General Meade stating that the road was open as far as Bristoe, where the Third Corps was under orders to remain until the arrival of the Second. This was comforting information, for the long delay at Auburn had left a wide interval between us and the rest of the army.

The fact that the road was clear of the enemy at noon did not render it certain that it would so remain, and General Warren conducted the march to Bristoe as if he expected attack at any moment. The Second Corps was then the smallest in the army, numbering about eight thousand men, but it had three division commanders in Hays, Webb, and Caldwell who were equal to any emergency, and capable of giving a good

account of their commands, whoever should choose to attack them. Webb's division was put in march on the northwest side of the railroad track and Hays's on the southwest side, the two marching in parallel columns, while Caldwell protected the rear. A strong line of skirmishers was kept out on the side exposed to the enemy. When about two miles from Bristoe the sound of guns was heard from that direction, the rapidity of the firing indicating that a serious attack had been commenced upon that place. General Webb at once placed his division on the southeast side of the track, taking the lead from Hays, and gave the order to double-quick. The loss of Bristoe and the crossing of Broad Run meant the possible destruction of the corps. The situation rendered every exertion necessary, and banished all thought of the extreme hardship imposed upon the men by this enforced march.

The situation was as follows: General Sykes, commanding the Third Corps, upon a false report that the Second Corps was in sight, at once put his troops on the road to Centreville, and the head of his column was so far away that he did not hear the sound of the cannon which had suddenly startled us two miles from Bristoe. General Lee had turned his whole army off from the Warrenton Pike for the purpose of striking the Army of the Potomac on the flank at Bristoe, while in retreat, or cutting off and destroying a part of it. Hill's corps had arrived at Bristoe as the last brigade of Sykes's command was preparing to leave, and under the impression that the whole of Meade's army had crossed Broad Run in retreat, Poague's battery was hurried into position and commenced a rapid fire, while Heth's division was being formed for an immediate attack and pursuit. It was

not long, however, before this misconception was dissipated, for the flankers of Webb's division, coming into contact with the enemy, gave information to Heth that the Second Corps was still to the west, and he at once made new disposition of his forces for the purpose of seizing Bristoe, and cutting us off from the main army. Two brigades, in line of battle, supported by the remainder of the division, were moving rapidly to gain this position as Webb's two brigades in columns of fours at double-quick, jaded and out of breath, dashed into the open plain near Bristoe. General Morgan, chief-of-staff to the Second Corps, was already on the ground, and with General Webb was forming the division on a ridge about three hundred yards to the southeast of the railroad, when General Warren appeared, who, his correct eye instantly taking in the situation, ordered the troops to move at double-quick to the railroad embankment and make their stand there. As at Gettysburg, where this accomplished officer saved the Army of the Potomac on Little Round Top, so at Bristoe he saved the Second Corps from what might have been a great disaster or its possible destruction. When the embankment was gained, the enemy was charging down upon it in a line that overlapped Webb's division at either end; but Hays, forming on Webb's left, prolonged the line to the west so as to protect that flank from being turned. The men opened fire the moment they were in position, and the battle of Bristoe was on.

Brown's battery was thrown across Broad Run upon a commanding knoll, and Hazard's battery was stationed on the ridge in rear of Webb's division. The attacking force consisted of Heth's division, the brigades of Cooke and Kirkland in the front line, supported by the brigades of Walker and Davis. The

enemy had advanced halfway down the slope when Webb's division gained the railroad embankment. Except for a short distance on the right of the division, and near its left where the Brentsville Road crossed at grade, the men were well covered, and, for the first time in their experience thus far in the war, had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy coming on in open ground to wrench a position of much strength from their control. The moment the embankment was secured, fire was opened, and the distance between the forces was so slight that it was terribly effective. We could see the men dropping rapidly from the ranks, the line soon losing its close formation and becoming wavy in shape, bulging forward here and receding there, as the shower of bullets fell with varying effect upon the different parts of the line. These were brave men that were attempting to cut off the Second Corps from the army, the same that opened the battle at Gettysburg, and suffered in killed and wounded far in excess of Pickett's men in that battle, and perhaps thought that here they might have a sweet revenge if they could only gain a few more rods of ground and hold the crossing of Broad Run. More than one battle flag dropped from the hands that were carrying them, to be instantly caught up and pushed forward to the front. Between the right of Webb's division and Broad Run, there was an open space of about a hundred yards, through which a part of Kirkland's brigade passed and commenced firing down the line, but the Eighty-second New York by a change of front was soon upon them and killed, wounded, and captured the entire force. At the Brentsville Crossing our line was broken, but Colonel Mallon of the Tammany regiment, at the time commander of the brigade, by his heroic exertions rallied his

broken regiment and brought it back to a counter attack which was successful; but it cost the gallant officer his life. Along the whole line the enemy was now in full retreat, and our men jumped over the embankment and secured four hundred and sixty prisoners, and brought in five guns of Poague's battery that had pushed well to the front, and been left without support upon the repulse of the charge.

During the battle the Twentieth was stationed under excellent cover to the west of the Brentsville Road. Major Abbott closely watched the advance of the Confederates, and, though the firing was hot all along the right, ordered the men to await the command, and when the word was given they were less than a hundred yards away. Then came a sudden volley that stopped the force in our immediate front and sent them broken to the rear. The men behaved with coolness and, as the danger to themselves was not great as long as the embankment was held, kept up their fire with deliberate aim while it was continued. In his official report Major Abbott gave the credit of suggesting and effecting the capture of two guns to Corporal George Curtis of the Andrew Sharpshooters, who were then serving with the regiment. Most of the new recruits, who were a large part of the command, behaved like veterans and won their place as worthy comrades in the hearts of the old and tried few that still remained.

Though the attack had been thus handsomely repulsed, it was not supposed for a moment that the battle had ended. It was known that the whole of Hill's corps was on the field, that Ewell was pressing forward upon our left, and that the whole Confederate Army was within three miles. In a short time Caldwell's division, which had acted as rear guard

to the corps, came up and took position on the left of Hays's division. The whole corps, consisting of not more and probably less than eight thousand men (one brigade being detached as guard to the wagon train), was now united and in line of battle along the railroad embankment, confronted by not less than forty thousand men. It was impossible to retreat at this time in face of such a force, and there was no alternative but to remain and await whatever fate might mete out to the corps.

The quick and complete defeat of Heth's attack rendered new dispositions necessary. General Hill realized that he had acted hastily and brought on an action without adequate preparation and with too small a force. This fault he candidly admitted in his official report, and gave as his only justification the necessity of attempting to do something to save the whole campaign from being a complete failure. If he had failed to attack and the last of Meade's army had been permitted to escape, he thought he would have been considered in fault. To reorganize his shattered division and bring up other troops into the front line required time, the length of which insured the safety of the Second Corps.

It was about half past four o'clock when Heth's division was driven away, and in mid-October there are not many hours of daylight remaining after that hour for military operations. General Warren, appreciating the danger of his situation, anxiously waited for the coming on of darkness, under cover of which alone he knew that it was possible for him to withdraw. To him the minutes seemed like hours, and hours like days. The enemy were rapidly bringing their artillery into place, and everything gave promise of a renewed attack. But nothing

was attempted beyond sharp skirmish firing, the pushing forward of Ewell's corps so near upon the left as to make its presence felt against Caldwell's division, and the sweeping of Bristoe Plain with cannon balls. The good work of Webb's and Hays's divisions had been so effective, that Hill was obliged to postpone until the morrow what should have been accomplished that afternoon.

The friendly night came on with its covering of darkness, and preparations were made to withdraw as soon as it could be done with hope of success. Orders were sent along the line that no fires should be kindled nor matches lighted. For once officers and men were obliged to forego the pleasure and relief that comes from the cigar and pipe after the fatigue and strain of such a day; and as all could see the danger which would result from an infraction of such an order, it is said that it was not broken by any one of the eight thousand men to whom it was communicated. Until the corps was well over and beyond Broad Run, no order was given save in a whisper.

While the fires in the Confederate camps were burning brightly and the noises that generally arise from a great encampment were distinctly heard, within the Federal lines everything was darkness and silence. The pickets were drawn in, and about nine o'clock the corps commenced the crossing of Broad Run, partly by the railroad bridge, and partly by the ford, and so quietly was this accomplished that no knowledge of it was conveyed by light or sound to the enemy, whose pickets were only a few rods away. When morning came they were surprised to find no one in their front. As soon as the run was passed, a sense of security came over the command,

but to wearied men a night march brought its hardships, and when the corps reached Bull Run near Blackburn's Ford they dropped to the ground and were asleep almost as soon as it was struck. From the time the corps left Bealton on the morning of the 12th until it reached Blackburn's Ford, sixty-nine hours had elapsed, sixty of which had been devoted to marching, skirmishing, and fighting, while only nine had been given to rest.

The danger which the corps was fortunate enough to escape owed its origin to the error of General Sykes, the commander of the Third Corps. In the confidential circular sent to each corps commander on the morning of the 14th General Meade had expressed the opinion that Lee would send down a column to Bristoe for the purpose of striking the army in flank during the march or cutting off the corps in the rear. To guard against such danger his orders were clear and explicit, and if followed intelligently there would have been no occasion for alarm. The Third Corps was directed to remain at Broad Run until the arrival of the Second Corps, and the Fifth Corps within supporting distance of the two. A staff officer having incorrectly reported the sighting of the Second Corps near to Bristoe, General Sykes, without waiting to verify the fact, set his columns in march, leaving us alone in the near presence of the whole Confederate Army, and to extricate ourselves as best we could without assistance.

The conduct of General Warren won the confidence of officers and men alike. His arrival at the head of the column at a fortunate moment has already been mentioned, and General Francis A. Walker, then serving on his staff, says, that if it had

been delayed for five minutes, it is probable that the corps would have met with disaster. General Meade issued a congratulatory order to the army on the conduct of the Second Corps, in which he said "The skill and promptitude of Major-General Warren" and "the gallantry and bearing of the officers and soldiers are entitled to high commendation."

The losses for the day were 31 officers and 354 men, killed and wounded, to which must be added 161 missing. The enemy's casualties were 1244, including three general officers, while the Second Corps carried away as trophies two battle flags and five pieces of artillery. The Twentieth, having during the action been under cover of the railroad embankment, suffered a small loss as follows: —

COMPANY B. Killed: Private Gebhart Raubs. Wounded: Private Michael Kessler.

COMPANY E. Wounded: Corporal Joseph Smitts.

COMPANY F. Wounded: Private Terrence McGuire.

COMPANY H. Wounded: Sergeant John Doyle; Private John McGuire.

COMPANY K. Wounded: Private Thomas Brown.

CHAPTER XIV

RAPPAHANNOCK STATION AND MINE RUN

With the concentration of the Army of the Potomac about Centreville, on the 15th of October, 1863, the Bristoe campaign was at an end. General Lee had failed in his object of heading off the army so as to compel a battle on terms favorable to himself, or of cutting into it by his flank march to Bristoe Station. Not only had his whole plan failed, but in carrying it into execution he had suffered considerable loss, and there was some ground for the feeling that his good fortune was beginning to slip away from him.

General Meade, not content with the negative results that had been gained, determined to move forward and bring the enemy to battle if he were still willing to accept it. After a needed rest of a few days, the army was again in motion on the morning of the 20th. The Second Corps moved through Gainesville and Greenwich to Auburn, where it remained for two days. There was no appearance of the enemy, for General Lee had retired soon after his unfortunate attack at Bristoe. Having remained two days at Auburn, we marched on the 23d to a position about equidistant between Warrenton and Warrenton Junction, and remained there in a comfortable camp for nearly two weeks. It was generally believed that at this time General Meade was in favor of a flank march to Fredericksburg, but his proposition was unfavorably received at Washington, and he was obliged to abandon it.

On the 7th of November the whole army was again in motion for the Rappahannock, the Second Corps arriving that day at Kelly's Ford by way of Warrenton Junction, Bealton, and Morrisville. Lee had already crossed to the south side of the river, leaving two brigades of Early's division on the north bank to guard the railroad bridge at Rappahannock Station. Two brigades of the Sixth Corps, commanded by Russell and Upton, carried the position by assault about sunset, capturing fifteen hundred prisoners, six colors, and four guns. This was considered one of the most brilliant assaults of the war, as the enemy was protected by strong fortifications and the force engaged in it was comparatively small.

At about the same time the Third Corps effected a crossing at Kelly's Ford with little loss, taking between two and three hundred prisoners. On the following morning the Second Corps crossed the river to support the Third Corps, after which the two moved to the right, joining the Fifth and Sixth Corps near Rappahannock Station, from which place the whole army was pushed forward in expectation of a battle in the great plain about Brandy Station. General Lee avoided the conflict by hastily withdrawing his army and placing the Rapidan between the two forces. During the two months that had elapsed since he started out for the purpose of attacking Meade's communications, he had lost about five thousand men, and though no great battle had been fought, his troops had met with disaster in three minor conflicts.

It was a new experience for us to see the Army of the Potomac in pursuit of the retreating Army of Northern Virginia — both moving along the same

road. It was cheering and inspiring to officers and men alike. That the turn in the fortunes of that valiant army had come was no longer doubted, and its refusal of an offered battle on its chosen camping ground was looked upon as evidence that the confidence of its commander in its ability to meet its opponent on even ground was waning. An expectation of remaining between the Rappahannock and the Rapidan during the winter was apparent in the comfortable huts that had already been erected, and in the expenditure of much labor on the repairing of old roads and the building of new ones, to facilitate a rapid concentration of the army in case of necessity and make easy the supplying of its wants if undisturbed.

The Second Corps went into camp near Stevensburg, with headquarters in a fine old house which commanded an extensive view of the country in every direction. Here they remained until the 26th of November, when that campaign commenced that is known as

MINE RUN

The season had so far advanced that the belief had become quite general that we were settled down for the winter, with little prospect of further active operations until spring should bring back warm weather and dry roads. Though we had heard much at home of the sunny South with its tropical foliage and sweet-singing birds, two years of experience in its northern belt had taught us that there, at least, an Arctic wave, as hard to bear if not quite a scold as anything known in New England, was liable to sweep down at any time. During the preceding December, while at Acquia Creek, we saw the Potomac frozen over

during a single night to such an extent as to prevent the docking of steamers, although at that place the river is three miles in width and subject to the tides; while at intervals storms of rain and sleet and snow occurred as pitiless in their severity as any known south of the Canadian line. At times, too, when the thermometer would not register very low, the air would be charged with cold and moisture of such penetrating power that no thickness of clothing could keep it out, pinching the features, shivering the frame, and driving the blood back to its central source as if afraid to meet its contact. With such memories common to all, the order for a forward movement against Lee in quest of battle beyond the Rapidan was not received with much enthusiasm, although no reluctance was exhibited to comply with it.

The Confederate Army was then in what it supposed to be its winter quarters, situated on the south side of the river, well back from the water on convenient and healthy camping ground. It extended from Barnett's to Morton's fords, a distance of about twenty miles, with intrenchments covering its entire front and with each flank protected by cavalry.

General Meade's plan was to cross the Rapidan in three columns; the first, consisting of the Third and Sixth Corps, at Jacob's Ford, which was nearest the enemy; the second, being the Second Corps, at Germanna Ford; and the third, comprising the First and Fifth Corps, at Culpeper Mine Ford. His hope was to throw the whole army around the right of the Confederate intrenchments and strike Ewell's corps, which would first be met, before Hill, some twenty miles away, would be able to render assistance.

Unfortunately, General French, in command of the right column, was some hours late in arriving at

the river, and for this reason and others not necessary to mention the concentration of the army about Robertson's Tavern on the evening of the 26th was not effected as the plan required. Disappointed but not disheartened by a partial failure of three complicated movements, General Meade directed that they should be taken up at daylight on the morning of the 27th, and pushed vigorously forward until completed.

General Warren arrived at Robertson's Tavern with the Second Corps at about ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th, and General Hays, commanding the Third Division, very soon came in conflict with the leading division of Ewell's Corps commanded by General Hays. The First Corps, under Newton, was also in position to the left at Parker's store, and General Sykes was at New Hope Church with the Fifth Corps. These three corps had traveled the longer route, but nothing had been seen or heard of the Third and Sixth Corps, which were in the morning only about six miles distant from Robertson's Tavern. When General French arrived at Morris's, instead of taking the left-hand road as directed, he halted his column, and after remaining for some time in a state of indecision, finally turned to the right, which brought him into conflict with Johnson's division; and with thirty-seven thousand men under him he allowed that single division of not more than five or six thousand to delay and neutralize his powerful force for the remainder of the day. As a consequence the several corps were not concentrated until the morning of the 28th, and all hope of meeting the enemy in detachments or under circumstances unfavorable to him was necessarily abandoned.

General Lee had received early information of our

crossing, from his cavalry outposts and signal stations, and with that quickness of decision that was one of his characteristics issued orders for the placing of two corps in such positions that they should be ready for any emergency which he thought likely to confront him. During the night of the 26th he withdrew his army from its intrenchments, leaving General Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry division to hold the fortifications in front of the Rapidan. On the morning of the 27th Ewell's corps was moving by the old turnpike and Raccoon Ford roads to Robertson's Tavern, and Hill, preceded by Hampton's cavalry, was hastening down the Plank Road, arriving at Mine Run about two o'clock in the afternoon. Soon after the two corps were in connection, forming a new line behind Mine Run and facing to the east. At daylight of the 28th the First, Second and Sixth Corps moved forward along the pike in line of battle, pressing back the enemy's pickets; and as a heavy rainstorm had set in, it was nearly dusk by the time the three corps reached the eastern bank of the Run. The hostile armies were again face to face, separated by a narrow stream running through a deep ravine, and about a thousand yards of cleared land rising up on a gentle incline to an elevation of a hundred feet or more, the top of which was crowned by intrenchments of great strength for infantry and artillery, in front of which had been placed a line of abatis. The storm continued during the day and well into the night, causing much discomfort to all and extreme misery to many.

The whole of the 29th was spent in examining the hostile lines for favorable positions to attack, and in the moving of the Second Corps, with Terry's division of the Sixth Corps under Warren, further

to the left against the right of Hill's corps, which rested at Antioch Meeting-House, about a mile south of the Plank Road.

Three points had been discovered which were thought practicable for assault, — one to the left in front of Warren, one in front of the Third Corps, and one in front of the Sixth Corps at the extreme right of our line. During the evening, General French having reported that the proposed attack on his front was inadvisable, two divisions of the Third Corps were ordered to report to General Warren. During the night the Fifth and Sixth Corps were moved to the right, both being under General Sedgwick, and General Warren was ordered to assault at eight o'clock on the morning of the 30th, General Sedgwick following an hour later, while the artillery of the centre and right kept up a rapid and continuous fire between eight and nine.

General Warren reported that he had postponed his attack at about the hour it was directed to commence, for the reason that he no longer believed in its success, and in consequence of this intelligence General Sedgwick was directed to withhold his advance. General Meade rode over to Warren's headquarters, and upon consultation and from personal examination approved of his action, or rather want of action, and reluctantly decided that the army should be withdrawn.

During the night of December 1, without the knowledge of the enemy, the army was in retreat, and recrossed the Rapidan without molestation, and was again in its old camps on the following day. Though this campaign was admitted to be a sorry failure, it had not been a disastrous one. The Third Corps lost 952 in its encounter with Johnson's di-

vision, which got off with the lesser number of 498. There was little else than skirmishing, for which each corps was obliged to report a few killed and wounded. Besides, more or less stragglers were picked up by the enemy during the retreat, making the total loss about fifteen hundred.

The Twentieth, under command of Major Abbott, was with the Second Corps, and shared with its fellows of the army the discomforts and hardships that were common to all. It did its share of work on the skirmish line, and was out more or less upon picket duty. The 28th, 29th, and 30th of November will always be remembered as the days of greatest suffering ever endured by the army when operating against the enemy, for a day and night of driving rain, followed by days of cold so intense that sentinels were found dead and frozen at their posts, was not again experienced during the war. Our casualties were small, Corporal James Marsh of Company B being killed, and Henry Barg taken prisoner and dying subsequently in Andersonville Prison.

CHAPTER XV

WINTER ON THE RAPIDAN

FROM Mine Run the regiment returned to its old camp, where it remained until the 7th of December, when the corps moved for a short distance from Stevensburg and settled down for the winter on Cole's Hill. The men at once commenced to build huts which they were destined to occupy until they were finally abandoned on the 3d of the following May. They were constructed of logs, roofed with canvas, with wooden chimneys plastered over with Virginia mud, which sticketh closer than a brother to any material with which it may come in contact. An experience of two successive winters was not without its value, for it taught the men what was needed for comfort in such a climate and how to produce it in a soldier's habitation. There were plenty of pine forests from which to draw the requisite material and plenty of mother wit to put it together and fill the interstices in a way to keep out the winter winds, that at times fiercely swept over the plains of Culpeper. One of the many advantages gained by sending recruits into the old regiments, instead of forming them into new ones, was that they were taught by the example of their veteran comrades just what to do and how to do it, both for health and comfort. For some days we were an army of woodchoppers; the clear sharp ring of the axe and the rushing sound of falling trees, as their broom-

like tops swept through the air, furnished a pleasing contrast to the rattling of musketry and the roar of cannon. Not a few were reminded of former experiences in the lumbering districts of their native States.

The army was encamped in a half circle around Culpeper Court House, facing the Rapidan, with headquarters at Brandy Station. Extensive picket lines were established and properly supported by reserves. Beyond the infantry and nearer the enemy was a line of cavalry videttes, many miles in extent, and unbroken save at Mitchell's Station, where for a long time a brigade of the First Corps furnished an infantry picket on the line of cavalry outposts. During a period of five months thousands of men, drawn in detachments from each regiment, were to walk their beats over the same line of twenty miles or more in extent every day and every night. Fronting the enemy, they were the eyes and ears of the army, and it was their duty to report any movement seen, or any suspicious sounds heard, to always be alert and ever ready to offer resistance to any hostile demonstration or stealthy attempt at surprise. A narrow ribbon of water, called the Rapidan, was for a whole season the Rubicon dividing two provinces, the passing of which by either army would be the signal for battle. Until May, however, the peace of each remained practically undisturbed.

The district which was to be for so long the home of the Army of the Potomac took its name from Lord Culpeper, one of the early colonial governors of Virginia. It contained a population of about ten thousand, evenly divided between whites and blacks. Its surface was a rolling plain that sloped off imperceptibly from the Blue Ridge to the tide-water

lands. Three or four isolated mountains of no great height were scattered over it, made up of the waste material of rock and earth that had been tossed off or dropped carelessly about during the construction of the Alleghanys. The country was more open and better cultivated than Stafford County, where we made our last winter home in Virginia. Improved farms covered more than half of its area, and before the war they had produced abundant and remunerative crops of wheat, tobacco, rye, and corn. It contained a number of old families of wealth and influence, living in large and substantial mansions, of the style of architecture peculiar to Virginia, which gave evidence of comfort, culture, and refinement. The Honorable John Minor Botts, who had been for years one of the foremost men of the Old Dominion, owned a large estate near the Court House, where he made his home during the war, except for the periods when Mr. Davis kept him a prisoner in Richmond Jail on the charge of treason to the Confederacy. Many an officer, and soldier too, will remember the pleasant and hearty greeting extended to him by this stalwart patriot at his hospitable mansion. His influence was great throughout this section, and as a consequence we found the Union sentiment here more prevalent than in many other parts of Virginia. The population was scattered about quite evenly over the country, on farms, great and small, there being no towns nor villages, save the Court House, where before the war a population of some six or seven hundred might have been counted. On the whole, Culpeper is looked back upon as having furnished the pleasantest of our various long encampments.

Nearly two years and a half of our term of enlist-

ment had now expired. These years had made fearful gaps in our ranks. There was but little resemblance between the Twentieth Massachusetts of July, 1861, and the Twentieth Massachusetts of December, 1863. It bore the scars of war thick upon it — scars received at Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and in many other minor engagements. The name of no one of the Field and Military Staff, that rode so proudly at its head on leaving Massachusetts, was now upon its rolls. Colonel William Raymond Lee was discharged for disability, contracted at Ball's Bluff and aggravated by the tortures of prison life thereafter endured. Lieutenant-Colonel Francis W. Palfrey was obliged to quit the service on account of wounds received at Antietam, which shortened his life, but not until he had been promoted to the colonelcy. Major Paul Revere, succeeding Palfrey as its third colonel, was killed at Gettysburg; and now Major Abbott, in years merely a youth, being but twenty-one years of age, was in command of the regiment. Adjutant Charles Lawrence Peirson had resigned to make a new reputation as colonel of the Thirty-ninth Massachusetts, and Assistant Surgeon Edward H. R. Revere was killed at Antietam.

Of the ten original captains, Ferdinand Dreher was dead; William F. Bartlett, after holding the colonelcy of the Forty-ninth Massachusetts, was still in the service as a brigadier-general; Caspar Crowninshield was major of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry; George A. Schmidt and Allen Shepard, both partially disabled, had been transferred to the Invalid Corps; and the rest had been discharged for various causes. Of the twenty lieuten-

ants only five remained, each holding a commission of higher rank.

The rank and file, who bear the heaviest burden of every war, had suffered no less than those who commanded them. Twelve officers and one hundred and fifty-nine men had thus far been killed in battle, twenty-seven officers and four hundred and eighteen men had been wounded, and five officers and one hundred and twenty-four men had been taken prisoners, making a total of casualties, as figured in war bulletins, of seven hundred and forty-five, equal to the numbers of officers and men constituting the regiment when mustered into the United States service in July, 1861. It is true that many recruits had been received who figure in the above list, but still it is a record with few parallels. On the return from Mine Run there were about one hundred and fifty present for duty, including officers.

It was not alone the few huts that made up the company streets that suggested painful thoughts, but a moral question had recently arisen, ever growing in importance, that caused those who took pride in the record the regiment had made for itself and the Commonwealth, to look forward with anxiety lest the brightness of that record should not be maintained. The recruits received in 1861 and 1862 had proved worthy associates of the men earlier in the service, but during 1863 a new element had been received, the value of which was far below the old standard. It was known that many new men would be forwarded before the opening of the spring campaign, and what their character would be was a constant subject of speculation, interest, and fear. When at length they began to come in, each squad was looked at and inspected with curious and critical eyes, to form

an estimate as to whether or not they were likely to prove reliable in the day of battle. The few remaining veterans who had stormed up the streets of Fredericksburg and hurled back Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, had an interest in those who were to be on their right and left in the like days that were sure to come, and they eyed the new men as if in some way they thought their own destinies were intimately connected with them. This inspection was often far from inspiring confidence in the future.

The first of the new recruits arrived on the 1st of March, a mere handful, numbering only twenty, and on the 22d of the same month, eighteen more came in. On the 17th of April one hundred and sixteen were received. This was an event of moment that changed the character of the regiment. Heretofore it had been largely composed of Americans, with some foreigners, but more native born of foreign parents, — all, however, speaking a common language. Nearly all of the last acquisition were Germans who could not speak a word of English. They were of good physique, above the average height, with light hair, blue eyes, and fair complexions, of the same racial type that Cæsar saw and described when first his legions crossed the Rhine into Germany. How and by whom they had been gathered up, or from what motive they had come across the water to take part in the American Civil War was a matter of conjecture and not of knowledge. It was certain that they had not been sent into the service by any foreign potentate, for hire, as were the Hessians in the Revolution; and that there must have been an exercise of the individual will in their coming, was something to be considered in forming an opinion of the value of their acquisition. It was not difficult

to conjecture what their feelings were as they looked out upon the dreary wastes of the Culpeper plains, and were drawn up, dressed in regulation blue, for distribution among the various companies; and as they began to settle down among strangers with whom they could not fraternize, and under commanders with whom they could not converse. They had scarcely got within the huts assigned to them, when, moved by a common impulse, they sought relief from their overcharged feelings in singing their familiar German songs. Officers and men gathered about them and listened with interest, sympathy, and pity as these exiles from a foreign land poured forth along the Rapidan for the first time notes of joy and sorrow brought from the land of the Partha and the Danube. There were many voices of much sweetness and power among them, and for hours the camp resounded with this unfamiliar music. There was a pathos in the tones of these voices that fitted well with the pathos of their surroundings. Major Abbott was much impressed with this musical acquisition and on the night of their arrival took them out and gave General Gibbon a serenade. At the latter's request they were taken a few days later for the same purpose to the headquarters of General Hancock, who was much pleased with the entertainment and expressed his thanks to Major Abbott for the compliment paid him. On the 1st of May eighty-two more recruits were received, two days before we started on our most memorable campaign.

Nor were the changes that had taken place in the army less marked, though in some respects differing in character, than those already described as affecting the regiment. By a process of evolution that had been going on from an early date, and for causes

that it would not be well to state, all but three of the forty odd general officers exercising command on the peninsula had been eliminated, and General Meade, first heard of as commanding a brigade at Gaines Mill, was commander-in-chief; General Hancock, who won the title of "Superb" while exercising the same limited command at Williamsburg, was commander of the Second Corps; General Sedgwick, a division commander at Fair Oaks, was chief of the Sixth Corps, and the Fifth Corps was now to be led by General Warren, who fought with Meade at Gaines Mill as a colonel of New York Volunteers. It is not recalled that such sweeping changes had ever been made in the history of war in the directing forces of an army. In a little over two years we had served under four commanders-in-chief, had seen over twenty corps commanders come and go, while division chiefs had been so numerous that even their names could hardly be remembered.

On the other hand, the Army of Northern Virginia rounded out its history under Lee and five permanent corps commanders, while many of the divisions and brigades are still known to us by the names of their commanding officers, so long was their association continued. The Confederacy, by great good fortune or by a wonderful insight on the part of the appointing power, discovered its great leaders at the beginning of the war, and the vacancies caused by death or wounds were invariably filled by promotion from those who in lower grades had given evidence of fitness for higher commands. For two years political and personal influence were potent factors at Washington in army appointments, and its baneful effect was always felt, though during the last few years with lessened force.

A winter encampment is generally considered by those not familiar with it as a period of idleness and rest. It is rather a time when one kind of work is dropped and another of no small importance is taken up and prosecuted without ceasing. An army with a powerful enemy confronting it is never idle. There is always plenty of work to do. With the long encampment comes a relaxation from that strain upon the nervous system which during an active campaign is always present and bears down upon the physical powers of the men with a force that would break down the strongest constitution but for the change of scenes and occupation which the frosts of winter are sure to bring about. Without such rest and relief it is doubtful if one in a hundred, though immunity from every other danger was secured, would be able to survive three successive campaigns like those of 1863 or 1864. Hence it was that the order to go into winter quarters was received with quiet satisfaction. The sentiment pervading the army was entirely different from that which wrapped it in gloom and discouragement the year previous, when returning to the Stafford Hills after the battle of Fredericksburg. The expectation, which was destined to be disappointed, was that before another summer solstice should be reached the southern Confederacy would be numbered among the shadow of things that were. The tone of the camp was cheerful and hopeful. For the veterans of the regiment there were only six months more to serve, unless, indeed, they should choose to reënlist. But a soldier measures time by a different standard than the ordinary individual. For him the days no longer glide along with the swift and easy motion that brings them to a close ere they seem hardly to have been

entered upon. The men, as they dropped down upon the banks of Bull Run, after having marched and fought for sixty hours out of sixty-nine, were ready to believe that months had passed since they broke camp beyond the Rappahannock. Looking back to the date of their enlistment, they felt sure that they had spent at least half of their lives in the military service. Events happening before the war appeared to have receded backward and to have become separated from them by a multitude of shifting experiences and a great gulf of time.

Looking forward, they were confronted by the same phenomenon. The day of their discharge appeared so very far away that it seemed hardly possible that it should ever be reached. Past events and things hoped for were like objects seen through an inverted telescope, thrown by the atmosphere of their environment so far backward or forward that they took on the appearance of half realities, or things likely to vanish before realized. It was not uncommon to hear men say that they would like to compromise with the future by the loss of an arm or leg, and such a settlement would not seem a bad one when the average fate meted out to their absent comrades was considered. But even when these reflective moods were upon them they were never despondent, and the prevailing sentiment of the camp was always cheerful. That constant exercise of the will which every good soldier must call to his aid in preparing for battle, to shut out fear and banish those rushing thoughts that come crowding upon the mind, makes him so strong and self-reliant that he can speculate upon the possibilities of the future with the equanimity of a philosopher, and await with cheerfulness whatever fate may have in store for him. George

Cary Eggleston says that no one in the Confederate Army in 1864 expected to survive the war, and that a gloomy fatalism took possession of the minds of many. General John B. Gordon tells us, in his interesting memoirs, that at this time the Army of Northern Virginia was deeply affected by a religious sentiment that swept over it, heightened, it may be, by the fact that in this world there seemed nothing but death and wounds before it, and the men thus turned their thoughts to things beyond the grave as their only hope.

In the Union Army, on the other hand, the chances of life and death were often scanned and worked out upon a mathematical basis from experiences of the past, but every one looked forward, if not with certainty, at least, hopefully, that in the lottery of war the prize of life would be his.

The duty of putting the army in the best possible condition for the coming campaign was an ever present responsibility recognized by every commander from General Meade himself to even the sergeants in command of companies. The methods so successfully inaugurated and carried out by General Hooker for building up the army and giving the best spirit to it were followed, and additional ones adopted. Every day there were drills of some kind when the weather was favorable, and inspections and reviews were so common that visitors seldom went away without having seen some part of the army displayed before them in its best dress. The Twentieth, which from the beginning had had officers of exceptional merit, had always maintained a high standard of discipline, and was behind none in perfection of drill and the rapidity and ease with which it could execute the most complicated manœuvres, whether on the

field by itself or in conjunction with others as part of a brigade or division. Major Abbott had a genius for war, and was indefatigable in his exertions and insistence to have everything done better to-morrow than it had ever been done before. Not satisfied with the requirements of Casey's Tactics, then the standard in use, he brought out a new movement of his own for the rallying of a regiment on its colors. After reviews he was called upon to give special exhibitions of his regimental drill before General Gibbon, General Hancock, General Meade, and finally before General Grant himself.

It had not escaped the notice of the officers, nor perhaps of the men either, that with the progress of the war a regiment was no longer the conspicuous figure it had been in the early days; and this not by reason of a diminution of numbers alone, but from general causes. The parts of the army had now become knitted and welded together, making it a more solid and compact machine which obscured every minor division in the immensity of the great whole. The field of operations had become so vast, the conflicts so numerous and of such magnitude, the numerals of regiments from every State had run up so high, the method of operations had so changed, — great masses acting together in every battle and not in successive small detachments, — that it could no longer be a matter of surprise that a little regiment of three or four hundred men should cease to be a potent factor in swaying events, or fail to attract the public notice which in its first life and greater strength it had been able to do. The details of battles had been so numerous, the stories of heroic actions on the part of individuals, companies, regiments, and brigades so many, that their power to interest

was lost. The public mind had become fixed upon armies and was now chiefly interested in results alone.

Though recognizing the changed position which events had made for it, the men of the regiment who constituted its strength, and who, with their comrades dead and absent, had made its record of glory, were in no way affected by it, and lost nothing of their resolution to do their part, even if unseen and unnoticed, in bringing the war to a successful close.

The Army of the Potomac, notwithstanding its heavy losses and many causes for discouragement, notwithstanding that it was being filled up with men of little or no value, was still in its best state, and would soon be ready to put forth the greatest effort it was ever called upon to make.

The winter was slowly wearing away, and the monotony of its days was relieved by many incidents and events that brought cheer to the regiment and gladness to officers and men. The wounded of the previous summer were gradually coming back to fill its ranks, and they were always received with demonstrations that show how closely knit are the bonds that bind together those who have shared common hardships and common perils. There was often something touching in the warmth of welcome with which these comrades were greeted. The mess never failed to set out its best to celebrate their return.

Then there was going and coming of officers on leaves of absence and of men on furloughs, which were rather liberally granted, and which furnished other means than that of letters by which those who were not thus favored could learn of how things were

going on at home in a time of war, and how men felt and acted who kept themselves clear of it. Every section of the State which furnished contingents to the regiment was visited by one or more on furlough or leave of absence, who, returning, brought the latest news from the vicinity in which not a few were interested, and related it to an audience which hung upon every word. The simple events of every-day life, once participated in and known by all, were listened to with rapt interest and almost incredulity, — how it seemed to live again in a warm house, to go to rest undressed, and sleep in a bed with white sheets and pillows of down or feathers, to rise in the morning at one's leisure, to sit at table covered with clean linen, and eat slices of tender roast beef with vegetables that were really fresh, followed by a dessert of mince and pumpkin pies of substantial thickness and unheard-of flavor, while a wife or mother presided at the head, and daughters or sisters sat on either side, with smiles as sweet as those of angels and cheeks that mocked the dawn. These simple recitals might at times excite regrets, but they were pleasant and on the whole beneficial, for they recalled experiences once enjoyed, which all again hoped to realize. Major Abbott went home on the first day of January, 1864, and when leaving and bidding farewell to his family, this man of iron broke down and wept like a child.

There was but one military movement during the winter that affected the regiment. General Butler, in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with headquarters at Fortress Monroe, conceived a plan for the liberation of the prisoners at Richmond, and requested General Sedgwick, temporarily in command of the army, to make such a

demonstration as would prevent General Lee from sending away any portion of his troops. The Second Corps was selected for this purpose, and on the morning of the 6th of February the regiment marched down to the Rapidan. Hays's division crossed at Morton's Ford, captured the enemy's entire picket line at that point, and made several feints at attacking the fortifications on the hills beyond. Towards evening his troops were relieved by the Second Division. The Twentieth crossed the river, then nearly three feet deep, but was recalled during the night by command of General Meade, who thought that the demonstration already made was sufficient, and remained on the northern bank. At six o'clock on the following morning we commenced our return march, floundering along through the mud in the dark, over roads filled with holes, leaping ditches, and fording streams swollen by the recent rain, and reached camp at a little after mid-day on the eighth.

General Grant, having been appointed a lieutenant-general, assumed command of all the military forces of the United States, and on the 26th of March established his headquarters at Culpeper Court House. Previous to this date the army had been reorganized into three corps, the First and Third being discontinued. As a result the Second Corps had four divisions commanded by Generals Barlow, Gibbon, Birney, and Mott. The brigade with which the Twentieth had been so long associated underwent no changes in its composition, but was thereafter designated as the First Brigade, and received a new commander in the person of General Alexander S. Webb.

General Grant was a stranger to this part of his new command, and each corps was in turn reviewed

by him, in order that he might see the material of which it was composed. These occasions gave the men their first sight of this remarkable man of whom they had heard so much. Coming among us with none of the outward adornments with which the conquering hero has generally been presented to the imagination, his unimpassioned face, nevertheless, showed to those accustomed to judge of human character a force of will that no obstacle could overcome. Those who were privileged to talk with him listened to a clearness of thought, expressed in simple and most appropriate words, that gave them a sense of intellectual power which only the greatest commanders possess. General Meade remained in direct command of the army, although subject to such general instructions as he might from time to time receive.

By the 1st of April the peach trees were in full blossom, but over the vast plain, from which the last vestige of fencing had been removed and burned, there was no other sign of the coming spring. The ceaseless trampling of men and horses, and the constant passage of wagon-trains numbering nearly ten thousand, had pulverized the soil into dust, and rendered the landscape so desolate and barren that it hardly seemed possible that sun and rain would ever again be able to make a flower bloom or a plant grow. The population scattered along our line of advance from the Potomac to the Rapidan had called upon the government to keep them from starvation, and under proper regulations assistance had been rendered.

Though expectation was ever present, that with warm weather and dry roads we might be called upon to march at any time, the plans of the com-

mander-in-chief were not yet matured, and we were to remain for a month longer, devoting the last days to skirmish drill and target practice, each impressively suggestive of the work to come.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WILDERNESS

On the night of the 3d of May the army broke camp and started out on a campaign that lasted three hundred and forty days, during which the contending forces were at no time separated from each other by the distance of a rifle-shot, and which left a trail of blood from the Rapidan to Appomattox to mark its devious course. No day passed on which some life did not go out, and on many days thousands; and such sacrifices were called for, that of the hundred thousand men constituting the army on May 3, less than ten thousand were with it at the close. In the history of war it is impossible to find the parallel of this campaign. Its features are not attractive, for nowhere and at no time is hard and persistent fighting in thickets, swamps, woods, and small spaces of open land relieved by any of those fortunate accidents, picturesque scenes, and sudden turns of fortune that often attend on war, and in the perusal of its history so strike the imagination as to withdraw the attention in a great part from those repulsive features which are always met with, and are natural to it.

No one will ever understand this campaign or be able to form a correct judgment of it who does not take into account the exigency resting on General Grant to delay not for a day the completion of the task with which the government had entrusted

him. The presidential election was to take place in November. No one familiar with the history of those times can for a moment doubt that the re-election of Lincoln was clearly dependent upon the war being brought to a close before that date, or at least reduced to such proportions that its speedy ending was visible to the majority of the people. This condition was met and Lincoln's election was secured. If, on the other hand, this contingency had not been met, and the war with invisible limits had been still before them, the government would have passed into other hands, and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy would have been the natural and logical result. This was the opinion of Lincoln and Grant, and they acted on it.

The orders for the first stage of the campaign were prepared by General Humphreys, chief-of-staff, after the fullest discussion with General Meade, and were delivered to the corps commanders on the morning of May 3. They required that the right column, consisting of the Fifth and Sixth Corps, should cross the river at Germanna Ford, preceded by Wilson's cavalry division, and take up a position at Wilderness Tavern; that the Second Corps should cross at Ely's Ford, preceded by Gregg's cavalry division, and move to Chancellorsville; that the wagon-train, protected by cavalry and an infantry guard of thirty-six hundred men, should cross at Ely's and Culpeper Mine fords, and move in the direction of Todd's Tavern. To accomplish this, five pontoon bridges were to be laid, which were to be taken up after the troops had crossed and carried along behind the army. At midnight each corps was in motion, the men carrying three days' cooked rations and fifty rounds of ammunition on the person. At

six o'clock in the morning the head of the Second Corps was crossing the Rapidan, and at about one in the afternoon it went into camp at its designated resting place after a march of twenty-two miles. We were now upon ground made familiar to us the year previous, and examined with mournful interest the scenes of one of our greatest and least creditable battles.

The Fifth and Sixth Corps, following the route prescribed to them, arrived at their respective resting places at about two o'clock on the afternoon of the fourth, the former being established at Wilderness Tavern and the latter about three miles to the rear, with one of its divisions at Germanna Ford as a guard to the bridges. Gregg, with his cavalry division, pushed on to Piney Grove Church during the afternoon, and Wilson was on the Orange Plank Road near Parker's Store. The trains of more than four thousand wagons commenced crossing the bridges at the two fords above mentioned, the last being over in the afternoon of the fifth. This complicated series of movements commenced at the very moment prescribed in the order, and were carried out in a way which leaves one in doubt which most to admire, the promptitude and skill of the corps commanders, or the genius of those who devised and reduced them to such plain and simple terms that misunderstanding was eradicated and interference of one with the other impossible. The science of war was never more clearly displayed nor its art better illustrated than in the first day's work of this campaign.

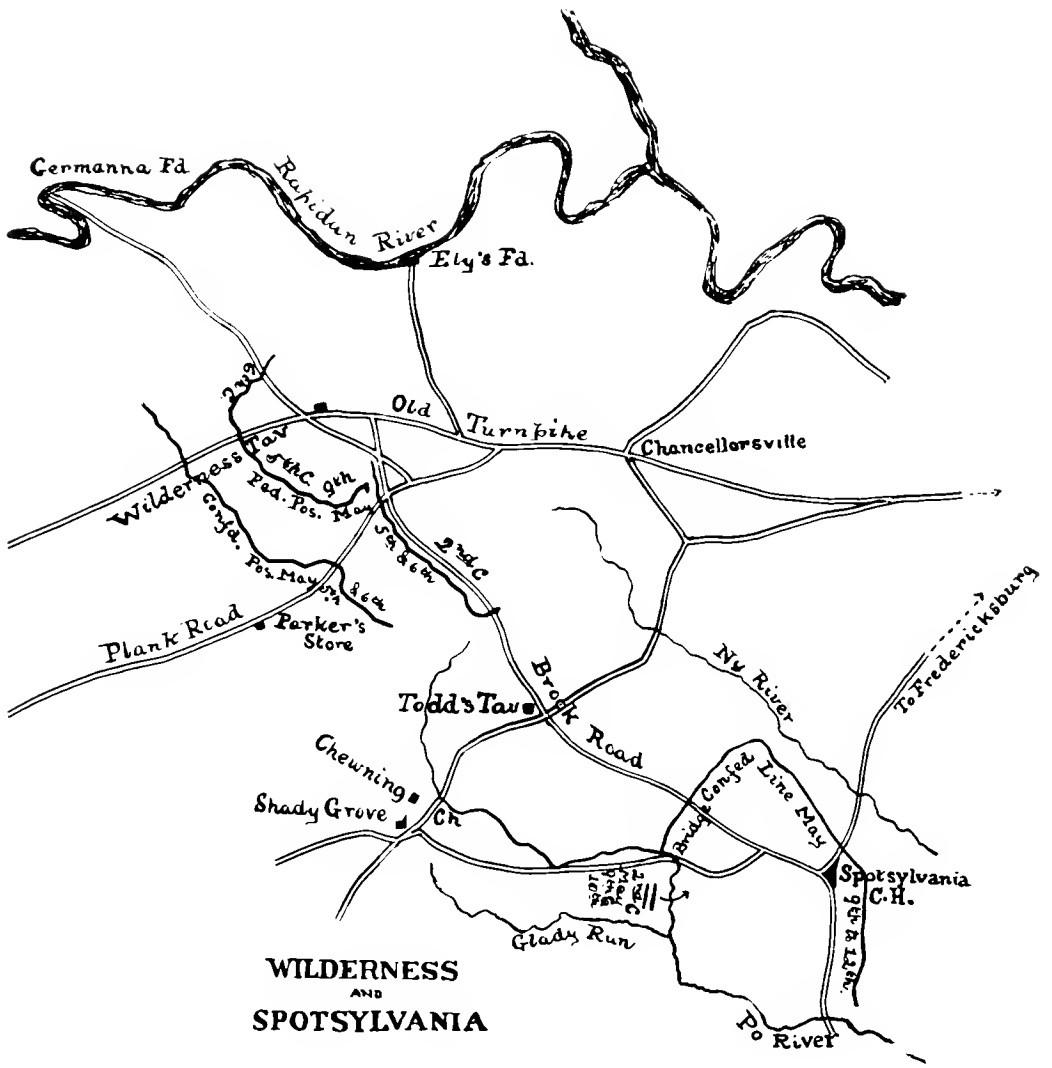
On the 2d of May General Lee and his principal officers had visited Clarke's Mountain near the right of his line, which commanded a view of nearly the whole of Culpeper County. From what he saw from

this elevated point, Lee concluded that Grant was about to put his army in motion, and that its direction would be against his right. The crossing of the Rapidan was soon reported by his outposts, and his corps commanders, then in a state of expectancy, were ordered to put their columns in march. Ewell, with the Second Corps, was soon hurrying along the turnpike toward Wilderness Tavern; Hill's corps was stretched out for a longer march that would bring it out on the Plank Road three miles to the south of Ewell; and Longstreet was ordered from Gordonsville to fall in behind and follow Hill, which would concentrate the greater part of the Army of Northern Virginia on the right.

On the evening of the fourth General Meade had his army stretching south from Germanna Ford to Shady Grove Church on an irregular line, facing to the west. Ten or twelve miles separated the extremes of the two wings, measuring in a straight line; and at least twenty miles by any known roads intervened, while there were wide intervals between the different corps.

At the same time, Early's division of Ewell's corps had reached Robertson's Tavern on the pike, four miles from Wilderness Tavern, Rodes's and Johnson's divisions being closed up in his rear. Hill, leaving Anderson's division on the Rapidan, had halted for the night on the Plank Road, Heth camping at Mine Run, seven miles from Parker's Store, and Wilcox at Verdiersville. Hill was separated from Ewell by three miles. There was an interval of about three miles on the pike, and of about ten on the Plank Road, between the hostile forces; the pickets were not in touch with each other.

Soon after the crossing of the Rapidan was effected, General Grant telegraphed to General Burnside,



WILDERNESS
AND
SPOTSYLVANIA

whose corps was then stretched along the railroad from Brandy Station to Bealton, to make a forced march to Germanna Ford, and with such alacrity did the men respond that he was at the Wilderness Tavern on the morning of the fifth with three divisions.

On the evening of the fourth there was a general feeling of elation at the success thus far achieved without the slightest accident or loss of any kind. General Grant expressed the sense of relief he felt, having entertained serious apprehension of danger in crossing the river in face of a powerful and active army, and of difficulty in passing his trains safely through a hostile country furnishing only narrow and ill-constructed roads.

Though the movements of the enemy already described had taken place, no information of them had been received at headquarters, except that troops had been observed on the Plank Road moving towards New Verdiersville, and a few shots had been heard from the direction of Robertson's Tavern.

Orders were issued on May 4, dated at 6 P. M., for the army to move at five o'clock on the following morning. General Wilson's division was to move to Craig's Meeting House, the Second Corps to Shady Grove Church, both places on the Catharpin Road, the Fifth Corps to Parker's Store, and the Sixth Corps to the Wilderness Tavern. If this order could have been carried out, the left wing of the army would have been well out of the Wilderness, in fairly open ground, and beyond the right flank of the enemy, unless important changes were made in their movements then in progress.

The Second Corps was promptly on the road at the appointed time, and was measuring off the miles

at a swinging gait that would have soon brought it to Shady Grove Church, when, about nine o'clock, General Hancock received an order to halt at Todd's Tavern. He was even then two miles beyond that place.

As General Griffin had been advanced on the 4th for a mile or more beyond the Wilderness Tavern on the turnpike, Warren started the movement, which was to carry his corps on to the Plank Road, at Parker's Store, with Crawford's division followed by those of Wadsworth and Robinson. The head of Crawford's column had reached the open ground of the Chewning farm, three miles from the tavern and within a mile of the store, when he found a small force of cavalry skirmishing with the advance of Hill's corps.

As early as 7.30 the presence of Ewell's corps was felt on the pike about a mile in front of Griffin, who had not yet moved, and General Meade, concluding that the whole of Lee's army might possibly be in his immediate front, gave the order to Hancock, received at nine, to halt at Todd's Tavern and await developments. General Grant having joined General Meade and having been informed of the developments on the two roads, at once decided to abandon, for the present at least, the flank march to Parker's Store and to attack instead whatever force might be in front on the pike. The movement prescribed for the Sixth Corps not having been completed, General Sedgwick was ordered to send Wright's division, reinforced by Neill's brigade, up the road which enters the Germanna Plank at Spotswood and join in with the Fifth Corps. Between nine and ten o'clock, from information then gained, orders were sent to General Hancock to move up the Brock

Road to the Orange Court House Plank Road, and at the same time General Getty was sent in all haste to the junction of these roads to drive back the enemy beyond Parker's Store.

General Griffin, having formed his division, with Ayres's brigade of regulars on the right of the pike and the brigades of Bartlett and Barnes on the left, did not commence to advance until about noon. He soon struck Jones's brigade of Johnson's division, and Battle's and Dole's brigades of Rodes's division, and in the conflict that ensued threw the two former into confusion, in which Jones was killed. To support his front line, Ewell sent forward Early's division and Daniels's brigade of Rodes's division, which finally pressed Griffin back to his original position. Wadsworth was overpowered and forced to retire with considerable loss in prisoners, owing to his inability to get his division into proper alignment with that of Griffin. Crawford and Robinson were then withdrawn, and the corps commenced the construction of intrenchments in front of Wilderness Tavern.

Owing to the difficulties everywhere met on this field, Wright was not able to come up with the enemy until nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, when he was fiercely attacked by Walker's and Stafford's brigades, which were thrown off by Generals Russell and Neill, General Stafford being killed. This ended the contest upon the right, which had not been favorable to the Federalists, though not the occasion for much elation on the part of the Confederates.

The order given to General Getty did not come too soon. That energetic and capable officer rode at the head of his three brigades (General Neill's being at that time under General Wright's orders), and,

on arriving at the junction of the roads, was met by a detachment of cavalry that came flying down the Plank Road informing him that Hill's corps was just behind them. Faster than the cavalry came the enemy's bullets crashing through the dense bush, cutting off twigs and pattering on the ground. Getty, with his staff, was there alone, for his eager mind had led him in advance of his command, and for some minutes this little group held the pivot-point of the battlefield. One orderly was severely wounded, one horse killed, two holes were made in the headquarters flag, and though the gray uniforms were seen crossing and advancing on the road, Getty would not move. Just in time to save the position, for in five minutes it would have been lost, the leading regiment of Wheaton's brigade came running down the Brock Road and halted on reaching the junction to send volleys of musketry at the invisible enemy, then only thirty yards away. The whole division was up soon after and formed in two lines in front of the Brock Road, Wheaton's brigade holding the centre on either side of the Plank Road, Eustis on the right, and Grant's Vermont brigade on the left.

Having learned from prisoners that Wilcox's and Heth's divisions of Hill's corps were in his front, General Getty, exercising the discretion which the situation demanded, delayed further compliance with his orders and commenced throwing up intrenchments on the west side of the Brock Road. His situation and the information he had acquired was fully explained in a message promptly sent to General Meade. The loss of this position would have cut the army in two parts and greatly endangered its safety. How nearly it was lost has been already explained, and it is easy to conjecture what would

have been the consequences if its occupation had been entrusted to a less energetic and capable officer.

For two hours or more but little was done except to improve the alignment of the division and put it in the best condition for offensive or defensive work. Wheaton's brigade was moved to the right of the road, and two guns of Ricketts's battery were placed at the cross-roads. There was no other spot at which artillery could be used.

The order for the Second Corps to return by the Brock Road to the support of Getty was received by General Hancock at about eleven o'clock, and he at once counter-marched his column to Todd's Tavern, and thence turned north to gain the cross-roads. Birney's division, being in the rear, took the lead in the retrograde movement, and came into position on the left of Getty at about two o'clock, forming in two lines. Mott's division was the next to arrive, followed by Gibbon, each forming in double line upon the left of the forces already in position, which gave two lines of battle in front of the Brock Road, consisting of more than twenty thousand men. It was well on toward evening before Hancock, with only a narrow road to move on, was able to bring up his whole corps and complete its formation. One of Barlow's brigades was left at the junction of the Brock Road with one leading from it into the Catharpin Road, and the other three were ordered to occupy some high and open ground in rear of the general line — a position of great value in case the enemy should attempt to move around the left flank of Gibbon's division, which was left in the air.

At 4.15 General Getty, instigated by the very urgent orders he had received to press forward, felt

compelled to put his division in motion, well knowing that he could depend upon Hancock to extend a helping hand in the hour of need. Within four hundred yards from the Brock Road he encountered Hill's corps drawn up to receive him, and at once commenced a contest which before the close of another day was to cover a square mile of ground in front of the Brock Road with stricken bodies like the fallen leaves of autumn.

General Hancock, who was receiving the most urgent messages for assistance, — messages which he could read so well, not by hurrying aides, but borne to him through the air, in the crash of ten thousand muskets, repeated and repeated in such quick succession that the intervals were soon lost in one universal roar, — did not wait to complete that perfection of form which the soldier loves when he knows that a great exertion must be made, but hurried Birney and Mott to the front, and later, with the varying exigencies of time and place, ordered forward Owen's and Carroll's brigades from our division, and finally Smythe's and Brooke's brigades from Barlow's division. With the exception of three brigades, the whole of the Second Corps was at last by the side of Getty, waging one of the fiercest contests ever known, on either side of the Plank Road, which darkness alone brought to a close. Though Hill's right was thrown back, and the whole line more or less broken, no great success had been gained. The losses on both sides in this part of the field had been large, and the troops rested on the line they held when the battle ended. It was known that General Longstreet had not yet arrived and that Anderson was still absent.

General Meade determined to make a supreme

effort to break through the Confederate right on the morning of the sixth, before Hill could reorganize his shattered line and before reënforcements could reach the field. For this purpose Hancock was given, in addition to his own corps, command of Getty's and Wadsworth's divisions of the Fifth Corps, to which were added Baxter's brigade from Robinson's division. Wadsworth had, during the afternoon of the fifth, worked his way through the woods near to the Plank Road in an effort to strike the left flank of Hill, and was already in a good position for the coming battle. Warren and Sedgwick were expected to keep Ewell engaged to prevent him from sending forces to the right. General Grant directed that the attack should commence at half past four, but at the request of Meade it was postponed until five to allow time for making a proper disposition of the troops.

At that hour the divisions of Birney, Mott, and Getty, and the brigades of Owen and Carroll threw themselves straight against the front of Hill's corps. The space between the two forces was short; and though the Confederates were under the shelter of breastworks which had been thrown up during the night, they were soon gained, and after a furious conflict, lasting nearly an hour, the right wing of Lee's army was broken and Hill's corps was badly disorganized and fleeing before the exultant divisions led by Hancock. Many prisoners were taken and sent to the rear, but the exact number has never been given. The pursuit was continued for more than a mile, but the alignment having become broken these troops were ill prepared to meet the fresh men of Longstreet and Anderson that were now upon the field and being placed in position to renew the battle.

The victors of the morning were stopped in their pursuit and soon forced back step by step, until an intermediate position was gained where the scattered forces were rallied for a final stand.

General Gibbon had been placed in command of the left with Barlow's division and a part of his own.

It was not until after the overthrow of Hill's corps, and the pressing back of our forces by Longstreet, that Webb's brigade, to which the Twentieth belonged, was called upon to take part in the action. Up to this time the regiment had been in the position assigned it the day previous, along the Brock Road. Colonel Macy had returned the evening before and assumed command, while Lieutenants Magnitzky and Pease had arrived early in the morning, having walked alone all the way from Brandy Station. The regiment had about five hundred and fifty men and twenty-five officers. The brigade marched by the flank to the cross-roads and then up the Plank Road for about a mile, having been ordered to support Getty's division. Colonel Theodore Lyman of Boston, a volunteer aide on the staff of General Meade, had been sent to remain with General Hancock during the battle, and while going upon this mission made note in his diary that he passed the Twentieth on the march and received a salute from Major Abbott, who was riding at its head. A few hours later he went to the corps hospital, and was with him when he died. The brigade was placed in line on the right of the road, and by some mischance did not meet or see during the entire day the division it was directed to support. It fell in with Wadsworth's division, which had got on to the Plank Road, and General Wadsworth assumed command over it.

General Wadsworth detached the regiment from

MAJOR HENRY L. ABBOTT

the brigade and ordered it to the left of the road, where with great difficulty a line was formed in the dense thicket. There is considerable mystery and uncertainty about the operations of the regiment, and no full nor satisfactory account of them can now be given. Owing to the wounding of one and the death of another of the commanding officers, no report of the part taken by it in this battle was ever made. The report of General Webb furnishes the only contemporary evidence, and, though written by a very gifted and accomplished officer, is far from being full or satisfactory. General Webb expected to find General Getty's division up the road, having been ordered to support or relieve it, and was much surprised to find no trace of it; and where it then was it is now impossible to learn from any of the reports. Apparently the Twentieth was formed at the time when there was a lull in the battle, which, in fact, occurred after the most advanced parts of our line had been driven back by Longstreet's first attack. It was after this that a partially successful attempt was made to bring the disjointed commands together and put them in position nearer the Brock Road, to meet the renewed assaults that were sure to come.

Soon after the regiment was moved to the south of the road, General Wadsworth rode to the front of it and gave the order to advance. The words had barely escaped his lips when he fell from his horse into the arms of Lieutenant Magnitzky, who laid him upon the ground. A bullet had passed through his head, and he died almost instantly. Soon after Colonel Macy was wounded, and Major Abbott assumed command. The regiment then commenced to advance, but had not proceeded far when it was

met by a volley of musketry from the enemy only a few yards away, though invisible. In accordance with orders the men dropped to the ground and opened fire, Major Abbott remaining standing all the while, directing and encouraging his men until he received the wound that soon ended his life. Just how long this conflict lasted is uncertain, but from the memory of survivors it would appear to have been between one and two hours.

Meanwhile General Longstreet had sent a column of four brigades to the unfinished railroad embankment on his right, which struck the left of our new line and doubled up Frank's brigade, then a part of Mott's division, and produced such a critical condition in this part of the field that Hancock reluctantly gave the order for our forces to withdraw to the Brock Road, where, during the afternoon and night of the fifth, breastworks of logs had been erected. The Twentieth retired under orders, and its exact position during the remainder of the battle is still to be determined.

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when the Second Corps and the troops acting with it returned to the Brock Road, and soon after General Lee, Longstreet having been wounded, advanced his lines to within a hundred yards of our position.

General Burnside had been ordered to go in between Hancock and Warren with two of his divisions early in the morning, for the purpose of breaking through the enemy's centre; but owing to the difficulties encountered, but little progress was made, and it was not until late in the afternoon that he finally got in contact with a part of Hill's forces, which had in the meantime been reënforced and brought back, and thus he failed to render any as-

sistance to Hancock during the latter's long struggle of the forenoon. Stevenson's division of the Ninth Corps was sent to Hancock about eight in the morning, and participated on the right of the Plank Road in connection with General Wadsworth.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the left wing was further strengthened by Lyle's brigade of the Fifth Corps and two regiments of heavy artillery. At about three o'clock General Hancock was directed to make another attack with his whole force, which now consisted of half of the army; but before that hour arrived, a general assault was made on his front by the combined forces of Longstreet and Hill under the direct command of General Lee, who had assumed personal direction of affairs on the right after Longstreet was wounded. A part of the first row of breastworks was gained, but elsewhere the attack was repulsed. Carroll's brigade soon recovered the lost line, and no further effort was made to regain it. By five o'clock the enemy was completely repulsed and retired to the rear, where they were contented to remain undisturbed.

Just before sunset, General Early sent Gordon, supported by Johnson's brigade, around the right flank of the Sixth Corps, who met with success in attacking the brigades of Shaler and Seymour, capturing both these generals and several hundred prisoners. This action closed one of the bloodiest days in the annals of the Army of the Potomac, ending in great disappointment that the fruits of the morning successes were not fully gathered.

The Wilderness was clearly a drawn battle, the mortality lists of either side being tremendous. The Union Army lost 25,387 in killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Confederates can only

be estimated, as after the battle of Gettysburg their archives fail to show their casualties in any succeeding battle. Whether this omission of important information was intentional or accidental is a matter for conjecture.

For the Twentieth, there was no one left to speak for it. That its old reputation was maintained on the 6th of May seems certain from what General Webb wrote concerning it. In his official report made a few days later, he says, "I had occasion to call the attention of officers and men to the manner in which the Twentieth Massachusetts fought this day, and to point out particularly how much its fighting was due to the gallantry and discipline of its officers."

The death of Major Abbott came home to all in a way which it is difficult to express in words. He was one of the few original officers who remained, and had been remarked in every battle for qualities of the highest order. For nearly a year he had been in command of the regiment, and had impressed himself upon it more than any other commander had succeeded in doing. He had won the affection and was the pride of the men. It is doubtful if there was one of his rank so widely and favorably known in the army. General Meade had become well acquainted with his merits, and intended soon to offer him a position of importance on his staff and a higher rank. The news of his death reached headquarters while the battle was in progress, and General Meade spoke feelingly of it to General Grant while the two were sitting on a log together. General Webb says in his official report: "Major Henry L. Abbott, Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers, died from his wounds received in the advance of his regiment. It will be very difficult to replace him. No better soldier was

in my command. His reputation as an officer stood far beyond the usual eulogies pronounced on dead officers. I feel that his merit was so peculiar and his worth so well known to all the officers of the corps and to the general commanding, that it is not necessary for me to attempt to do him justice. My brigade lost in him its best soldier." General Hancock wrote in the same strain. Richard H. Dana, the well-known author of "Two Years before the Mast," visited the army during the early days of 1864, and made this entry in his diary under date of April 26: "Sedgwick spoke in very high terms of the Massachusetts regiments, especially of the Twentieth, and of Major Abbott, who now commands it. He thinks Abbott 'the bright particular star,' though he did not express it in these words."

The death of Lieutenant Henry Ropes at Gettysburg has already been mentioned. In his report of the battle Major Abbott paid this tribute to him: "His conduct in this action, as in all previous ones, was perfectly brave, but not with the bravery of excitement that nerves common men. He was in battle absolutely cool and collected, apparently unconscious of the existence of such a feeling as personal danger, the slight impetuosity and excitability natural to him at ordinary times being sobered down into the utmost self-possession, giving him an eye that noticed every circumstance, no matter how thick the shot and shell, a judgment that suggested in every case the proper measures, and a decision that made the application instantaneous. It is impossible for me to conceive of a man more perfectly master of himself; more completely noting and remembering every circumstance in times when the ordinary brave man sees nothing but a tumult, and remem-

bers, after it is all over, nothing but a whirl of events which he is unable to separate."

In writing the above, Major Abbott was unconsciously making a sketch of his own military character. The extract was not inserted in its appropriate place, with the account of the death of Lieutenant Ropes, but is produced here, in order to link together the names of two friends in a common tribute, written by one of the other, and appropriate to both, now united by a common fate.

Besides the officers already mentioned, Captains A. B. Holmes, Henry L. Patten, and William F. Perkins, Lieutenants Henry W. Mali and Benjamin B. Pease, and Adjutant Henry W. Bond were wounded. The casualties were never separately reported for this battle, but are included in a list made several days later, covering other actions.

During the campaign and until the end of his term of service Captain O. W. Holmes, Jr., served as aide on the staff of Major-General Horatio G. Wright, who, after the death of General Sedgwick, became the permanent commander of the famous Sixth Corps. Captain Holmes subsequently received commissions as Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment, but owing to the small number of men was not able to be mustered.

CHAPTER XVII

SPOTTSYLVANIA

On the morning of the 7th of May General Birney advanced his skirmishers along the Plank Road for the purpose of ascertaining the position of the enemy. He was found to have withdrawn a considerable distance from our front and was protected by new fortifications which had been constructed during the night, and he gave no signs of willingness to leave them. From this time, until the close of the war, General Lee was never again to offer or accept a general battle unless his troops were well covered by earthworks. His inability to shake off his enemy, as he had done at Chancellorsville, had wrought the conviction in his mind that he must henceforth adopt a defensive policy as his only hope for safety, although such a policy was entirely foreign to his nature. With the skill which his men had acquired in quickly throwing up intrenchments whenever he was compelled to take up a new position, the character of the war was greatly changed. Henceforth it was very much like siege work, and battles were no longer to be fought in open country. Wherever it turned and wherever it went, the Army of the Potomac was sure to be confronted with Malakoffs, Great Redans, and Little Redans, constructed in a single night and connected by earth embankments for protection and cover. The red earth of Virginia, upturned for the purposes of war, was always before

the eye, stretching in endless lines through the woods, over the hills, and across the plains, ever presenting a formidable barrier between us and the enemy. Its color became a symbol of the costly tribute so freely paid in crossing or attempting to cross them.

As a result of the reconnoissances made by General Birney, General Grant decided to move the army past Lee's right flank and seize Spottsylvania Court House, which if gained and held would compel him either to attack or to move his army further to the west in order again to interpose it between the Army of the Potomac and Richmond. This movement of Grant's required the abandonment of all communication with Washington by the Alexandria Railroad, which had thus far been kept open. The bridges over the Rapidan were taken up, and by three o'clock in the afternoon of the seventh, the immense trains and reserve artillery were started over the roads to the new base of operations at Fredericksburg. It is said that war is but a chapter of accidents, and this well-conceived plan was thwarted by an accident.

General Lee, anticipating that a movement would be made to Fredericksburg, directed Anderson, who had succeeded Longstreet, wounded on the sixth, to move his corps early on the morning of the eighth to the Court House. Fearing danger from the fires raging in his front, Anderson made a night march and arrived at the place at the time he had been directed to start. The first knowledge gained by the Federals of the withdrawal of Anderson from the Wilderness was during the approach of our men toward the Court House.

A little after dark, General Warren started along the Brock Road, while Sedgwick and Burnside fol-

lowed on roads to the east. Hancock remained in the trenches until the Fifth Corps had passed by him, and then followed along the same road to Todd's Tavern, about halfway to Spottsylvania, where he was to remain, forming the right wing of the army.

General Warren found the road guarded by Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry, and his progress during the night was slow. At six o'clock on the morning of the eighth he had only reached Todd's Tavern; and when he met the enemy's skirmishers two miles further along, he threw Robinson's division into line and pressed forward as rapidly as possible. Driving the enemy before him, he reached the open ground near Alsop's at about half past eight and found the enemy already intrenched. In the assault that was soon made Robinson was severely wounded and his brigades repulsed. When the Sixth Corps arrived, the two corps moved forward and secured a position sufficiently near the enemy, which they intrenched during the night, forming the line held by Warren and Sedgwick until the 13th and 14th of May.

Owing to the resistance met by General Warren, the Second Corps did not move from the intrenchments till after daylight, and did not arrive at Todd's Tavern until some hours later than was contemplated in the general order. This point, about seven miles from Spottsylvania, it was important to hold as protection to the trains which were moving south on other roads to the east. Until later no information was received of what Lee was doing or contemplated doing since our withdrawal from his front. On arriving at Todd's Tavern Colonel Miles's brigade and a brigade of Gregg's cavalry were sent out on the Catharpin Road nearly as far as Corbin's Bridge over the Po, where they remained during the day.

Towards evening a part of Hill's corps under Early came into conflict with Miles, and so sharp was the collision that Smythe's brigade was hurried out to his support. There were reports that the enemy were moving in our rear along the Brock Road, which, with the knowledge of the presence of a large force in our front along the Catharpin Road, caused much anxiety to Hancock lest he might be attacked in the morning in his isolated position, both in front and rear, by the bulk of the Confederate Army. General Gibbon, who had been sent early in the day to the right of Warren, was drawn in, and General Meade sent a brigade of heavy artillery to reënforce the corps. The men stood to arms during the afternoon and well into the evening, but no further trouble came, for General Lee was not seeking battle, but was sending his forces to hold Spottsylvania as fast as they could travel.

By noon of the ninth, leaving Mott's division and the brigade of heavy artillery on the Catharpin Road, Hancock was on the march with three divisions, under orders to take position to the right of Warren on the high open ground overlooking the river Po. At this time Lee's army was stretched in a semicircle around the Court House, the left resting on the Po and the right bent back to the southwest and reaching nearly to the river. It was protected by formidable intrenchments that were soon after extended and made continuous between two different points on the Po.

Early on the morning of this day General Burnside, who had taken a longer route than that followed by the other corps, came up on the Fredericksburg Road to within a mile and a half of the Court House, and crossed the Ny River at the Gates house. The

army was now concentrated, but, with the exception of adjusting the lines and developing those of the enemy by vigorously pushing out skirmishers to the front, no active operations were undertaken. The men were all tired and needed rest.

Before the corps had left Todd's Tavern the news of General Sedgwick's death while examining the enemy's position near the right of his corps, reached us. It was greatly regretted by the Twentieth, as the regiment had served under him as long as he had remained a division commander. The men held him in great respect and bore him a kindly affection which was expressed by their appellation of "Uncle John," which they generally used when referring to him.

Soon after his arrival, General Hancock reported in person at headquarters and was ordered to cross the river and attempt the capture of a large wagon-train that had been seen moving along a road on the other side of the stream. Considerable delay in getting Birney's division across was caused by the conformation of the banks of the river, which were high and heavily timbered, and by the time the work was accomplished the train was beyond his reach. But the movement thus begun was ordered to be continued, it being thought feasible to turn the left flank of the Confederate forces. Three bridges were laid, over which the divisions of Gibbon and Barlow crossed; by this time Birney's skirmishers had nearly reached the Block House Bridge, over which ran a road leading to the rear of Lee's army, but they had not got near enough to command it. During the night, however, Mahone's division was extended to the left and constructed works which commanded this important point.

Barlow's division, moving along the Shady Grove Road at daylight, found the position there too strong to carry by assault, and Brooke's brigade was sent along the river to the right, where it crossed at a point about halfway between the bridge and Glady's Run. Hancock was preparing to send over other forces when he received orders to return at once with Gibbon's and Birney's divisions and take command, as senior officer, of Warren's corps, which, with his own troops, was to assault the Confederate lines at the point near what became known as the west angle of the apex of the Salient. The Twentieth moved with its division on the ninth across the river and became slightly engaged on the tenth.

The Confederates, discovering that Barlow's division was isolated by the withdrawal of the rest of the corps, sent Heth's division in great haste to attack it. So serious did its position finally appear to General Meade, that he requested Hancock to relinquish the enterprise given him and take charge of Barlow's division, and retire it. This was successfully accomplished after repelling repeated attacks made by the enemy with great vigor in expectation of its capture. The horses of Arnold's battery became unmanageable during the retreat, and the guns of one section became wedged in between two trees so tightly that they could not be moved, and in this way the Second Corps lost its first gun.

Thus General Warren came to take general charge of the operations against the Salient. By pushing forward two brigades of Gibbon's division in the forenoon, which were compelled to retire, and later two divisions of his own corps, which in turn also gave way, the view obtained of the enemy's position was such that, in his judgment, an assault would

be successful. Upon this report, and influenced also by the fact that a part of the Confederate forces had been withdrawn some distance away to meet Hancock's turning movement, General Meade ordered Warren to assault. The attacking column was made up of Crawford's and Cutler's divisions of the Fifth Corps and Webb's and Carroll's brigades of Gibbon's division. Some of the men got within the intrenchments, but were quickly driven out with considerable loss, and the divisions retired to their own lines in much confusion.

General Hancock returned about half after five in the afternoon, just before the close of this assault. At seven he was ordered to renew it with Birney's and Gibbon's divisions and a part of the Fifth Corps, but he met with the same success that had been Warren's in the first attempt. The Twentieth, under command of Captain Curtis, participated with Webb's brigade in these assaults, in one of which Lieutenant Hibbard was killed. Six of our men lost their lives, and twenty-two were wounded.

General Wright, who succeeded to the command of the Sixth Corps on the death of General Sedgwick, met with better success in the operations on his front, though all that can be said of them is that a promising opening ended in another failure. A careful examination of the ground in front had been made by Colonel Upton, who had been designated as leader of the troops who were to assault the works covered by Rodes's division of Longstreet's corps. Two brigades, Upton's own and that formerly commanded by General Russell, who was now the head of the division, and four regiments of Neill's brigade were to form the assault-

ing column. Better troops nor better leaders could not be furnished by the army. They were the same troops that had so brilliantly stormed the forts at Rappahannock Station the year before. The annals of the Sixth Corps are not illuminated by brighter deeds than those associated with the names of Russell and Upton.

Mott's division of the Second Corps, then further to the left, near the Brown house, was placed under Wright's orders and directed to attack at the same time on the line nearly opposite his front. Nothing was accomplished by this force, and it is generally recognized that, though led by officers of courage and ability, its efforts were rather languid and spiritless. It was an off-day for this part of the corps. It is to be said in favor of the troops, however, that they were deployed in open ground and in full sight of the enemy, who were well prepared to meet their advance, which for a good part of the way was through open fields without cover of any sort.

The attacking column was formed in four lines near the Shelton house and moved through the woods near to its further edge, two hundred yards from the enemy. The batteries were placed in such positions that the guns had a direct fire upon that part of the line toward which the column was directed, and an enfilading fire on the left. A heavy cannonade was kept up for half an hour and then ceased abruptly, which was the signal for the advance. The men sprang forward on the instant, and with a shout rushed on, unmindful of the shot and shell that was raining thick and fast upon them, climbed over the parapet, and, after a fierce hand to hand conflict, gained control of half a mile of the enemy's intrenchments. About twelve hundred prisoners

were taken and sent to the rear, while the column pushed resolutely forward, capturing a second line about a hundred yards to the rear with all the artillery in it, and then spread out to the right and left, clearing a front sufficiently wide for the passing through of a division. The expected reënforcements did not arrive, and Upton was compelled to continue the struggle single-handed against the troops which were poured in upon him from the front and on either side. The intrenchments were held until dark, when General Russell ordered the troops to withdraw during the night. Besides prisoners, the enemy lost heavily in killed and wounded at the first taking of the works, and more heavily in their attempts to recover them. The President, having given General Grant authority to reward conspicuous action upon the field, Colonel Upton was immediately appointed a brigadier-general.

The casualties of the day amounted to 4100 in killed and wounded, the number of prisoners being small. The Second Corps fought in detachments at three different points along the line, its losses being one half of the total. General Burnside with the Ninth Corps, two or more miles to the left, made a demonstration along his front, during which Brigadier-General Thomas J. Stevenson of Massachusetts, commanding a division, was killed. He was one of the most accomplished and gallant officers in the army, and his death was much deplored. He was well known in the Twentieth, and his loss came home to many as a personal bereavement. Many of our officers had been trained by him just before the outbreak of the war, to fit themselves for the positions they were to occupy, and it was not uncommon to hear them say that to General Steven-

son they owed much for whatever success they had attained in their warlike calling.

General Grant, being of the opinion that the failure to gain the enemy's intrenchments and drive Lee from Spottsylvania was due to a lack of spirit on the part of the forces that were coöperating with Upton, determined that the contest should be renewed on the 12th. Accordingly on the afternoon of the 11th he sent a dispatch to General Meade directing him to move the three divisions of the Second Corps by the rear of the Fifth and Sixth Corps, under cover of night, to join the Ninth Corps in a vigorous assault on the enemy at four o'clock on the following morning. These few words of command resulted in one of the bloodiest battles in history, unique in character, sublime in the heroism displayed by the combatants of either side, which covered a small space of earth thicker with dead and wounded men than was ever seen on any battlefield in modern times.

The details of this assault were left, as always, with General Meade, who, having called the corps commanders together and consulted with them, gave the final directions for carrying it out.

From the left of Hill's works to the right of Longstreet's a ridge of no great height jutted out to the north, along the outer edge of which Ewell's corps was stationed, his men facing north, east, and west. It made of his position what is known in military phrase as a salient, or a projection toward the enemy of a part of the line of an army. The point of land thus inclosed has often been likened to the shape of an acorn, the correctness of which comparison may be seen at a glance. The outer end was the apex, and the side lines connecting with it formed

the east and west angles. Johnson's division held the whole of the apex and extended for a quarter of a mile along the east side line. This was the centre of the Confederate Army and the point at which the attack was to be made.

The men were permitted to rest during the 11th. General Hancock made such examination of the ground as was possible during the short time between the receipt of his orders and darkness, but the information gained was very meagre. A storm of rain set in during the day, accompanied by fog, and thus added more difficulties to those already existing. It was decided that the column should be formed in front of the Brown house, from which there was a stretch of open ground about four hundred yards in width and bordered on either side by woods, which ended directly at the Salient. Early in the evening General Hancock summoned the three division commanders to his headquarters and informed them that this was a movement of more than ordinary importance, and endeavored to impress them with the feeling that the occasion required the putting forth of a supreme effort on the part of the whole command. Barlow, in the lead, was to report at headquarters with his division at ten o'clock, followed closely by Birney and Gibbon, and from there they would be conducted by staff officers and engineer officers to their respective positions. Mott's division was already near the Brown house. Barlow reported promptly at the appointed hour; and the corps took up its march under the guidance of Colonel Charles H. Morgan, inspector-general of the Second Corps, and Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Mendell of the United States Engineers.

The rain was still pouring down in torrents, and the air was thick with mist and fog from the soaking earth. A more dismal night march of two hours was never known. Whether through woods or open country, it was all the same. Objects great or small were alike invisible, and everywhere was deep and slippery mud through which the column floundered on, file closers hardly able to see their file leaders. All was dreariness and discomfort. No officer was familiar with the location towards which they were moving, nor had ever seen, much less examined, the position they were seeking to storm. The men were in dense ignorance as to their destination, and, as they pulled their feet from out the thick and sticky mud for mile after mile, indulged themselves to the limit in the soldier's privilege to grumble, vowing their preference to storming a Malakoff by daylight to wearing out their lives in such marching. General Barlow has described his own sensations as sometimes being stirred with indignation and then moved to mirth and laughter as he recalled in turn the seriousness and, what he terms the ludicrousness of his situation. The man who could laugh at such a time must needs have been a brave one.

By twelve o'clock the head of the column was at the Brown house. The difficulty of forming a column on such a night can only be imagined. A mass of darkness, mud, and rain, so Barlow thought, was pointed out to him as the position from which he was to make his attack. Hours were occupied in completing the formation. Barlow's division was formed in column of regiments, each doubled on the centre. The first and fourth brigades were placed in the first line, and the second and third in the second. A small space was left between the first

and second lines and also between the brigade columns. The Second Delaware was placed on the left, with directions to march by the right flank so as to face quickly to the front in case of necessity and stand off from that side any force that might come to attack the column. General Birney disposed his division in two deployed lines on the right of Barlow, and Mott's division was in single line in the rear of Birney. Gibbon was held in reserve. Burnside was ordered to attack at the same hour as Hancock, but far to the left, while Warren and Wright were directed to make demonstrations along their fronts and turn them into real attacks, if favorable opportunities offered. It was a movement that might call every brigade into action and was to be the supreme effort of the army.

Every preparation had been made a short time before the hour designated for the assault, but owing to the fog the attack was postponed to await the appearance of the coming light. This attack was not to be heralded by a cannonade, but was to be performed by the infantry alone, in hope of taking the enemy unawares and unprepared. No unnecessary speeches were addressed to the men in order to stir them to a warlike feeling; save for the orders, which were given in a low tone, no noise was made. Twenty thousand men were standing still in a compact formation, silently awaiting the word to advance. Surrounded by the silence of night, by darkness and by fog, they stood, listening to the raindrops as they fell from leaf to leaf.

All this while the enemy were unconscious of what was in store for them, although they had received rumors of movements; but the reports were so uncertain that no action had been taken to meet the at-

tack really threatened. The withdrawal of General Burnside from the south side of the Ny on the 11th had induced General Lee to believe that another attack would be made against his left flank, and he ordered the artillery at the Salient to be withdrawn during the night, and as a result this arm of the service played but a small part in the great action of the 12th. Some one heard, or thought he heard, sounds indicating that troops were being concentrated on Johnson's front; and by reason of this General Lee ordered the guns to be returned at daylight, and they arrived just in time to be captured without rendering any efficient service.

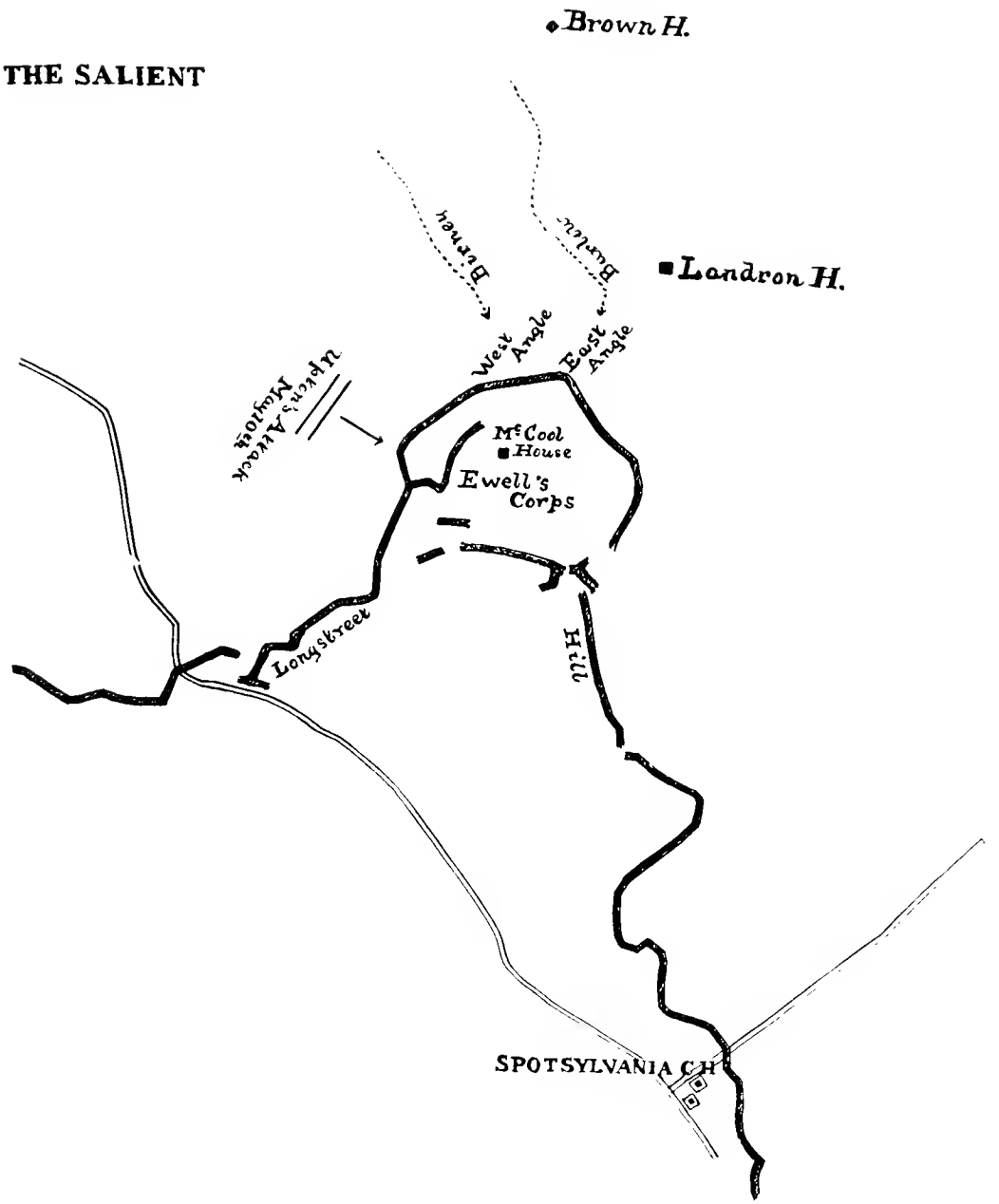
For a long time this great column stood waiting for the word to advance. It was the largest body of men ever organized on the continent to be launched for a single blow. In it were twenty thousand men, — partly in solid mass, and partly in line, — five thousand more than Pickett led up Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg. Seventy-two regiments, representing the youth and manhood of ten States, the best that each could furnish, stood arrayed in battle order upholding seventy-two battle-flags that had been borne in honor on many a field, and none of which had ever been touched by hands of the enemy. These flags had been rent by shot and shell, and now, tattered and torn and wet with rain, were drooping around their shafts like the bedraggled wings of a fowl. For twenty-four hours not one of these twenty thousand men had enjoyed a moment of sleep. Some of the strongest and bravest in the Twentieth dropped to the ground and were unconscious before their bodies touched it. Most, however, stood up in the ranks, swaying restlessly backward and forward, pulling their feet out of the mud and putting them

back again, fretful, complaining, and ill at ease. From right to left they covered half a mile, in places twenty ranks in depth, and nowhere less than eight. The exact direction of the Salient from the Brown house had been ascertained on the previous day by the use of the compass, and the first division was so formed that it would strike the projecting point, provided it was able to go forward without deviation from the given course.

A great battle was about to be ushered in without the aid of artillery. There was neither drum to beat the charge nor bugle to sound the call. None of the accessories that usually accompany warlike forces and give to them a pomp and circumstance to fill the eye and feed the imagination were here. There were no officers on horseback, hurrying hither and thither, in front or on either flank, giving life, color, and animation to the field with their clattering sabres, waving plumes, and brilliant uniforms; neither were there any picturesque groups of them in the background. Every one was on foot, for all horses were left behind the lines. Barlow was in the centre of his massed division, while Birney, Mott, and Gibbon were stationed in the midst of their troops. So slight was the information given to General Barlow of the character of the ground over which he was to pass, that he inquired of Colonel Comstock of General Grant's staff whether or not there was a ravine a thousand feet in depth in front; and receiving no satisfactory answer, he concluded that he was about to lead a forlorn hope and gave his valuables and some messages to a friend.

After a delay of half an hour on account of the fog and darkness, at 4.30 the word was given for the movement to begin. Until the Salient was captured

no other command was given. The great column became its own commander-in-chief, for brigade and division generals being buried in the mass, it was impossible for them to give it directions by further orders. Still their presence was felt, for the men were conscious that their leaders were with them to share every danger. This alone was of no small value. When it grew lighter and one could look around, and objects became visible, it was seen that the corps had been marched all night through mud and rain for something out of the common experience. The Second Corps had never before been massed into a solid body to move against the enemy, and never in such form as that in which it was now arrayed. Great events have a power of self-proclamation; and although nothing had been communicated to the troops as to what was expected of them, the feeling ran through the ranks that they were near to momentous happenings. All thought of what had gone before — want of sleep, fatigue, untold discomforts — was forgotten, and the manner in which the drama was to unfold and close was now the question of supreme interest. The warlike spirit was rising and became plainly visible. When half a mile out, the front line of Birney's division perceived that it was somewhat behind Barlow's column, and without orders quickened step and soon came up to a proper alignment. Near the Landron house the enemy's pickets opened fire upon the flanking regiment, but without noticing them it passed along. As the woods on either side became visible, these landmarks showed that the true course had been kept, and the lines had been well preserved. When the column had ascended a low ridge that crossed its path, the Salient burst into view, with


THE SALIENT
Brown H.
Landron H.
Burnett
Burnett
West Angle
East Angle
Upton's Attack
Mahone
McCool House
Ewell's Corps
Longstreet
Hill
SPOTSYLVANIA C.H.

frowning forts and connecting rifle pits, spaced off with traverses rising high above them. Down the slope in front was a line of abatis, formed of interlacing trees, whose branches had been cut and sharpened at the ends, presenting a formidable obstacle. But to men now wrought to a high pitch of enthusiasm and animated by a sudden presentiment of victory, obstacles were not considered.

With loud cheering, the troops rushed forward, broke down and burst through the abatis, and in a moment the first wave of this human tide swept over the crest and dropped down on the further side of the intrenchments. The men had seen much close and hard fighting, but now they were in the midst of the enemy and for the first time, were making quick and sharp use of the bayonet and clubbed musket. But these were brave men that they sought to conquer, men who would not willingly drop their flag. They were the same who had been led by Stonewall Jackson; the same who broke through the line at Culp's Hill and held their ground for many hours with fierce tenacity; the same who met and held Warren's men in check on the 5th of May in the Wilderness. The contest was quick, sharp, and decisive Many were killed and more were wounded; but being surrounded on every side by determined men, Johnson and his whole division, except a few that escaped, surrendered. Twenty guns, thirty flags, and four thousand prisoners were the substantial trophies of this assault. The Second Corps never had a prouder hour, unless it was at Gettysburg, where, holding a defensive position, the action was the reverse of this day's triumph.

There has always been much contention between the divisions as to which planted its flag upon

the parapet first, but the difference in time was so slight that each was entitled to share alike in the honor.

Gibbon had been directed to remain in reserve; but either by new orders or a spontaneous impulse (probably the latter), the division followed close in the rear of Barlow and went over the works with his men. Carroll's and Owen's brigades were to the left of Barlow and broke in on Stuart's brigade, which was captured entire with its commander. Webb's brigade marched up into the space between Barlow and Birney and shared with the others in the capture of Walker's and York's brigades.

A gap in the centre of Lee's army had been made, a mile in extent, which gave promise for a time of a complete rout and overthrow of his forces. And now became manifest, at once, the effect of a condition deemed essential for the initiatory success of the movement, which rendered further direction difficult and unsuccessful. The hundred or more staff officers, who on their fleet horses would have been able to carry the necessary instructions quickly over a widely extended line, and, with their long experience and high intelligence, would have been so powerful a factor in bringing the troops into order, and arranging them for a further effective advance, were all afoot. Here in a small space in front of the captured works were twenty thousand men (less the killed, wounded, and a few stragglers), disordered somewhat by the march, more by the assault, now carried away by a sudden victory of unlooked-for proportions and thrown into confusion that required the promptest action to disentangle and reduce to an ordered array. The enthusiasm of a broken line resulting from a victory is only a little more efficient

than the despondency of one broken by defeat. The officers commanding the divisions were capable men and knew what the situation demanded, but they were almost powerless. There was no one to carry their orders quickly or assist much in executing them. At such times as well as during a flight, one might well offer a kingdom for a horse, for he that is thus borne carries with him a dignity and authority that commands respect and wins obedience to his voice. This most potent and effective arm of the service being thus paralyzed or nearly so, the great corps, which we have seen acting as its own commander-in-chief during the assault, continued to follow its own impulse, which carried it forward in tumultuous pursuit of the enemy. Forward into the brush and woods the men went, and meeting part of Gordon's reserve division at the McCool house, they put Johnson's brigade to flight and followed on until the fortified line at the base of the Salient was reached. Here were two fresh brigades and the rallied troops of Johnson. It would have been impossible for the disorganized pursuing force to carry it, and such an action was not attempted.

During this hour, so critical to the Army of Northern Virginia, men on horseback were swiftly flying to various parts of the line to bring up fresh and organized troops to meet the greatest danger that had ever yet threatened it. From Rodes's division came Ramseur; from Mahone's division, Perrin and Harris; and from Wilcox's division, McGowan; these, with Gordon's division, made eight fresh brigades which were soon ready to contest with the Second Corps the conquest of the Salient. By eight o'clock they had forced our wearied and disorganized forces to the outer face of the captured line, around which

was waged, until three o'clock the following morning, the fiercest battle of modern times. It was so bloody, and had such an aspect of savagery about it, that it is well to leave its details to be filled in by the imagination of those who wish for the completed picture. It was at the West Angle that the solid oak tree, twenty-two inches in diameter, was cut down by minie balls, a simple fact more eloquent than words to picture what was endured and suffered there. The position was held, and at the hour above mentioned the Confederate forces were withdrawn.

It is scarcely necessary and hardly possible to describe separately the part taken by the Twentieth in this action. A little force of not much more than two hundred men is so lost in a mass of twenty thousand that it would be exaggeration to emphasize its influence or to give to it especial importance in such a battle. It moved forward with Webb's brigade, went over the works as its foremost regiment, retired to its outer face by order, and remained there during the day and following night. Among its brave men who fell wounded there was Private Charles O. Newell, struck three times and left by his comrades as dead, and so reported by them to his family. He lay unconscious for a long time, and the first words he heard were those of a Confederate soldier who was saying that he still lived. During the day he was carried to the rear of the Confederate line and left on the ground uncared for. The next day he was lifted into a cart and was being carried with many other prisoners under guard to Gordonsville, when, while passing through some woods, he slipped out of the cart, hid himself in some bushes, and early in the morning of the 14th rejoined the regiment. During the war he was shot seven times

and was three times a prisoner. One ball went through his body and passed out, while another, entering just below the heart, still remains in him. He enlisted at the age of fifteen on the formation of the Twentieth, served three years, reënlisted, and was one of the four or five original men to return with the regiment at the end of the war. He now lives in Charlestown.

Separate reports of casualties during the campaign of 1864 were not made on account of the frequency of battles and were grouped together between fixed dates as officers had time to make them out. The following list includes losses from May 5th to May 17th.

FIELD AND STAFF. Killed: Major Henry L. Abbott; Adjutant Henry M. Bond. Wounded: Colonel George N. Macy.

COMPANY A. Killed: Privates William Armstrong, Bradford W. Beal, Albert A. Manley, Tyler Richardson. Wounded: Captain Albert B. Holmes; Sergeant Peter Newkirk; Corporal John C. Orcutt; Privates August Brown, James R. Hamilton, Michael Harty, Thomas C. Haskins, Benjamin F. Heath, Jacob Miller, Abraham Morse, James T. Nickerson, Frederick Rodnitsky, William Ryder, John Smith, Albert Steiber, James Sullivan, James F. Thompson. Missing: Private August Brice.

COMPANY B. Killed: Privates Henry Bode, Carl W. J. Finhorn. Wounded: Captain William F. Perkins; Sergeant Charles Rost; Corporals Fredinand Decker, Gustave Otto, Privates Henry H. Beddings, Julius Boehme, Michael Burke, Edward Dillon, Otto Ecker, Frederick Gluer, Theodore Kessler, Louis Gurlitz, James Harrington, —— Hortsheiner, Jacob Leib, —— Mannsman, John McDonald, James Mealy, Edward Nolter, John Reardon, Charles Schultz. Captured: Private Henry W. Schultz. Missing: Musician John Tuttle; Privates Franz Bauer, Michael Bauer, J. Bihard, Louis Boes, Hugh McDonald, Carl Miller.

COMPANY C. Killed: Privates Frederick Huncke, Carsten Jacobsen, Patrick McGovern, Theodore Moehle, John Quimbly, Edward Reymers, Edward Toepfler. Wounded: Sergeants William Fuchs, Albert Smoke; Privates Ernest Bierich, Lyman R. Blood, Alois Boehme, Charles Freeman, George Garnett, Werner Hahn, William Hammell, Samuel Hodges, Martin Koch, August Krug, Frederick W. Miller, Peter Rooney, Henry Schmidt, John Schroeder, Henry Schwabe, Herman Seifert. Captured: Privates Leon Fevier, Albert Hausch, Frederick Kuhn. Missing: Privates Franz Boehme, Ludwig Damp, William Finn, James Fowler, William Ochlenschlager, Simon Otto, John Prehl.

COMPANY D. Killed: Sergeant Robert Blackburn, Jr.; Corporal Dennis Dugan; Private John Fisher. Wounded: Sergeant Alden H. Holbrook; Corporal James Donnelly; Privates Hugh Armstrong, John M. Cheney, William Davis, Hugo Grah, Frederick Hampe, Henry Herschen, Herman Humpke, William F. Keifer, John Lynch, John McDonald, Patrick O'Neil, William D. Perry, Samuel Tullar. Captured: Privates Nathan P. Kendrick, John B. Kernochan, Gustave Schoenherr, James O. Sherman. Missing: Privates Robert Clare, Thomas A. Dow, Lewis Kempton, Julius Pommertch, David Scanlan.

COMPANY E. Killed: First Lieutenant Edward Sturgis; Privates Noah L. Cummings, James B. Wilson. Wounded: Sergeant Henry Borden; Corporals Moses H. Gale, Henry Kelley; Privates Theodore Bostell, Eugene Connelly, Josiah M. Darrell, John Ehles, Edward F. Fisher, Nathan H. Gray. William H. Ingalls, Thomas Kehoe, Charles E. Leslie, John McCaul, Henry Miller, John Murphy, John Newer, Patrick O'Leary, William Ponneitz, Henry Rakke, Rudolph Seiberg, Thomas Waters, Heinrich Yager. Missing: Privates Setien Bender, William Bettmer, William Volker.

COMPANY F. Killed: Sergeant Charles Cain; Privates John Amende, Charles Myatt. Wounded: Privates Frank Bartley, Adam Bollmer, Felix Chaplin, Jean B. Dalpe, Christian Diercks, Carl Gessper, Heinrich Hegedon, George Haines,

Julius Hillse, William Huffman, Thomas Joy, John Keefe, William Languirichr, Livi Locke, Patrick McManus, Albert Meyer, Emil Pinkan, John B. Rinaldo, Charles Rosenan, George W. Russell, William Schriever, Eugene Sullivan, George Warren. Captured: Private Francis Constant. Missing: Privates Peter Sharer, Herman Zeitz.

COMPANY G. Killed: Corporal Charles E. Jones; Privates Owen Cue, James Horne, Robert Kelley. Wounded: Corporals John Chapman, Patrick Coughlin; Privates John Brunt, Robert Derner, James French, Daniel Kenny, Christian Lechbrum, John Little, Jeremiah Lucius, Charles Lynch, James Lynch, Robert Miller, Julius Moeller, Christian Moenig, Joseph Potter, Henry F. Steinburg, Martin Sturm, Jeremiah Sullivan. Captured: Privates Charles C. Lewis, Luke Miller, Philip Morton. Missing: Privates James Franklin, John Jackson, William Metro, John Palm.

COMPANY H. Killed: First Lieutenant Lansing E. Hibbard; Corporal Henry A. Fairbanks; Privates Richard Evans, Carl Gieppe, Charles Harris, John H. Merrill, Charles A. Mohr, Albert Paffraith, William Platte, William Schiller, Darby Tucker, Charles A. Warren. Wounded: Second Lieutenant Benjamin B. Pease; First Sergeant Edward Welton; Sergeants John Doyle, Stephen Longfellow; Privates James Dunn, John F. Horan, Peter Kennedy, Charles Ricketson, James Rourke, James A. Smith, Timothy Wiley. Captured: Corporal Charles O. Newell. Missing: Privates Frederick Cortez, John Lowry.

COMPANY I. Wounded: First Lieutenant H. W. T. Mali, Jr.; Sergeant Patrick Lanergan; Corporals Edward P. Greene, William E. Manning; Privates Frank Andrews, Samuel Crocker, Barzilla Crowell, William B. Low, George B. Starbuck, Jonas Zeis, Julius Zeir. Captured: First Sergeant William Kelley. Missing: Privates Samuel H. Bailey, William Hartenstein, Theodore Laidsch, George L. Temple.

COMPANY K. Killed: Privates John Anderson, Willliam Doucheski, Frederick Mercerschmidt. Wounded: First Lieuten-

ant Nathaniel B. Ellis; Corporal David A. Smith; Privates John Boyd, Thomas Corbett, John Cott, William Fordham, John Hinds, Fritz Katz, Peter Keenan, Herman Loretz, Edward Murphy, Augustus Nesi, Samuel Sloan, George Wentworth, Edward Wettberg. Missing: Privates Frederick Buck, Michael Donnelly, Julius Krass, August Sohm.

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM SPOTTSYLVANIA TO THE JAMES

BETWEEN the 12th and 19th of May, during which time the Army of the Potomac was located about Spottsylvania, it was not only constantly manœuvring, but was at the same time being refitted with all the articles necessary for its complete equipment — horses for the artillery and cavalry, ambulances for the medical department, and clothing and supplies for the men.

General Meade, believing that the concentration of the Confederate forces about the Salient had weakened the left of their line, determined to make another attack near the Fredericksburg Road. In this movement the Fifth Corps led, followed by the Sixth, but owing to the darkness and the condition of the roads, they did not arrive in season for the contemplated attack on the morning of the 14th. The uncovering of the lines was discovered by the Confederates in the morning in season to send troops to the right, who arrived on the ground where the assault was to be made, and for this reason it was abandoned. On the morning of the 15th General Hancock withdrew Barlow's and Gibbon's divisions to the vicinity of the Ny River, and left Birney to hold and protect the right flank of the army.

As General Lee had moved his troops to conform to the changed position of the Federal army, the divisions of Barlow and Gibbon were sent back to the

Landron house, together with the Sixth Corps, for the purpose of making an attack upon the enemy's left which was supposed to have been much weakened. The two divisions were formed in line of brigades on the morning of the 18th and moved forward to the attack, but were met by so fierce a fire that on the advice of Hancock General Meade ordered the assault to be discontinued and his troops were withdrawn. "In ordering this assault" General Morgan, Chief of Staff of the Second Corps, writes, "it was perhaps supposed the corps would be urged to greater efforts to repeat its previous achievements on the same ground (the Salient); but such was not the fact. Large numbers of the dead were still unburied, and having been exposed to the hot sun for nearly a week presented a hideous sight. Such a stench came up from the field as to make many of the officers and men deathly sick. All the circumstances were such as to dishearten the men rather than to encourage them."

It was on this day that Captain Kelliher was wounded while the Twentieth was making its attack as part of Gibbon's division. Dr. Perry following on behind the regiment saw a pair of boots sticking out from a clump of bushes, and discovered the body of this brave officer almost concealed by them. He was unconscious, and was carried on a stretcher to the rear. He had been struck by a shell and fearfully mangled. He was bleeding profusely from a laceration of the sub-clavian artery, which was treated as well as could be on the field, and then left in expectation that death would soon follow. His arm and shoulder blade had been torn off, three of his ribs displaced, and his jaw broken in several places. Subsequently he became conscious, when the surgeons

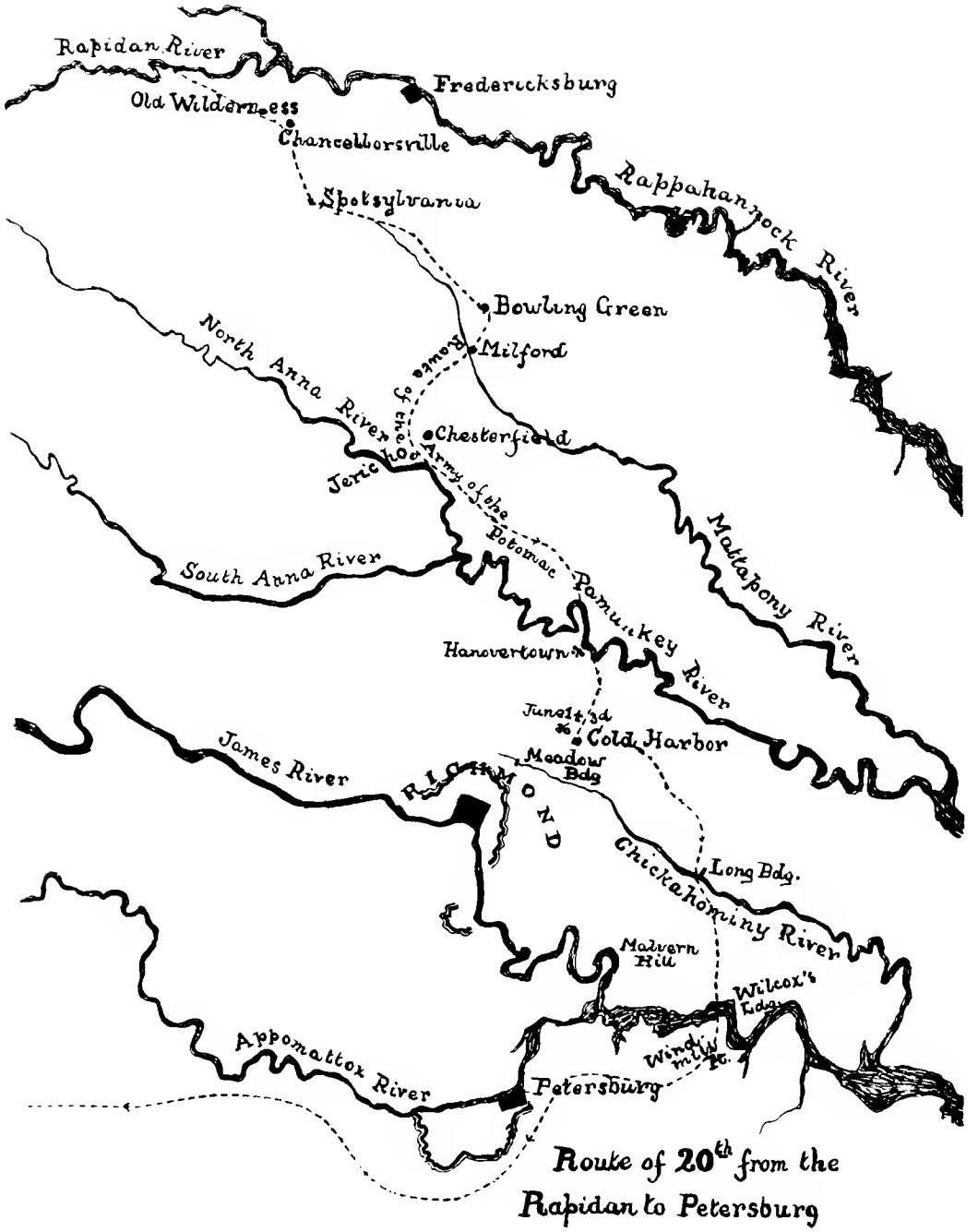
again turned their attention to him and dressed all his wounds. When the operation was completed, the line of the suture for closing the wounds ran from the ear to within an inch of the pelvis. He became conscious after the operation, and the next day all the wounded were ordered to be removed to the White House, a distance of twenty miles. Dr. Perry told the captain of the order, informed him that he did not think it possible for him to survive such a journey, and offered to remain with him. The brave fellow declared that he would take all the risks of the journey and that he was going to live. His powerful will alone saved him. On the 25th of the following November he returned and for a time was in command of the regiment. He was subsequently rewarded with a commission in the regular army, and at this date is living, a retired officer, at St. Paul, Minnesota.

On the 19th General Hancock received instructions to move to Bowling Green at two o'clock on the following morning and take up a position on the right bank of the Mattapony, and General Torbert was directed to report to him with a force of cavalry. This movement was, however, delayed for a day, owing to the appearance of General Ewell in our rear, who was handsomely defeated by General Tyler's division of heavy artillery, with a confessed loss of nine hundred; but daybreak of the 21st found the head of the column at Guinea's Station, and at about ten o'clock it reached Bowling Green. Near Milford Station Torbert found some Confederate infantry lying behind rifle-pits on the north bank of the Mattapony, and making a vigorous dash ran over them with his cavalry, taking sixty prisoners, and securing the bridge over the river. The corps

at once crossed over, Birney remaining in the rear, and in a surprisingly short time constructed intrenchments that excited the admiration of all who examined them. The command being separated by some twenty miles from the rest of the army, Hancock thought it unsafe to remain in such an isolated position without artificial protection. By night-fall of the 22d the other corps had arrived and Lee had concentrated his army at Hanover Junction.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 23d, we again broke camp and, after a tiresome and rapid march, arrived about mid-day at a place called Chesterfield on the North Anna. Here we found Torbert skirmishing with the enemy, and were at once thrown into line. There were some Confederates on our side of the river who were manning some works which defended the bridge, but two brigades from Birney's division, commanded by Colonels Thomas W. Egan and Byron R. Pierce, charged across the fields from opposite directions and quickly gained the rifle-pits and bridge, driving the enemy pell-mell across the river. The next morning Birney crossed and occupied some abandoned works around the Fox house, and two pontoon bridges were thrown over for the use of Barlow and Gibbon, who took up positions in prolongation of Birney's line.

General Warren reached the North Anna about the same time as Hancock, and crossed at Jericho Mills three miles up the stream, to be attacked the same afternoon with much vigor by Hill. At first Cutler's division was broken and thrown into disorder, but, after a severe conflict, the enemy was repulsed and the position made secure. During the twenty-fourth, both Hancock and Warren advanced and established their forces close to the



Route of 20th from the Rapidan to Petersburg

Confederate line. Burnside was at Oxford on the other bank, and Wright was ordered to the right to coöperate with Warren. Toward evening of this day, the left of the Second Corps, held by Smythe's brigade, was vigorously assailed, but with the assistance of some reënforcements which most opportunely arrived the assailants were driven off.

The whole of the twenty-fifth was spent in reconnoitring the Confederate line with the result that it was thought inadvisable to attack it. The ground was naturally strong and the industrious Southern soldiers had constructed intrenchments that were even stronger than those of Hancock already mentioned, which had been so much admired. Owing to a sharp bend in the river the wings of the army were divided, and there was no communication between the two except by passing over two bridges by a long detour.

The conclusion having been reached that it was inadvisable to attack, there was nothing left to do but to quit an unpromising locality and seek other fields. The cavalry, which had started on its great raid on the eighth of May, had returned after inflicting much injury on the enemy, not the least being the death of the brilliant leader of the Confederate cavalry corps at Yellow Tavern, which was most greatly deplored in the South, though it is now thought his abilities were somewhat overestimated during his lifetime. Sheridan was now sent with a column of horsemen around the Confederate left, under a general commission to do all the mischief possible to the railroads and perform other acts of material value, but his real office was to create the impression that the infantry would follow in the same direction. Whether or not Gen-

eral Lee was deceived into forming this opinion, General Grant determined to make at once another turn to the left, in the hope of finding an opportunity to strike a fatal blow at the Confederate army or to interpose between it and Richmond.

Accordingly the army started soon after dark on May 26 for a long march of thirty-three miles to the Pamunkey River, which it expected to reach near Hanover Town. The Sixth Corps took the lead by the roads furthest west, followed by the Second Corps, while the Fifth Corps, followed by the Ninth, moved over parallel roads to the east. So rapid and unobstructed was the march that General Russell reported from the south side of the river, as early as ten o'clock of the next morning, that his division had already reached Huntley's Ford. In the afternoon the Sixth and Second Corps were directed to cross the Pamunkey at this point, which is four miles above Hanover Town, and the Fifth and Ninth Corps were ordered to cross at Hanover Town.

On the twenty-eighth the army continued to press forward over the roads leading to Richmond, but soon found that Lee by forced marches had again succeeded in interposing between it and the Confederate capital. Although several sharp conflicts took place with parts of the several corps while moving from the Pamunkey to Totopotomoy Creek, the results were in no way of much importance. Lee's position being found very strong, the Federal army was swung around to the left in the direction of Cold Harbor which was already occupied by Sheridan's cavalry.

After dark on May 31, General Wright started off with the Sixth Corps under instructions to make

Cold Harbor by daylight of June 1, if possible, for it was believed that a strong effort would be made at that hour to drive Sheridan out. It was known that General Hoke was near, but it was not known that Kershaw was close by him and that Longstreet's corps also was not far away. Kershaw attacked Sheridan early in the morning with two brigades, but the gallant cavalry leader was able to hold his own by the use of his repeating rifles until shortly after nine o'clock, when Wright arrived and relieved him. The Sixth Corps was now some ten or twelve miles from the rest of the Army of the Potomac in the presence of a strong force of the enemy, but it was expected that General Smith, who was reported at White House on the 31st of May, would appear at any moment with ten thousand men from the Army of the James. It was not until two o'clock in the afternoon, however, that these troops began to arrive, as, owing to a misdirection, they had taken the wrong road, which prolonged their march some ten miles. By six o'clock the two corps were united, the Sixth on the left, covering the road from Cold Harbor to Richmond, and the Eighteenth (as the troops under Smith are designated in the reports, although in fact this division was composed of detachments of the Tenth and Eighteenth Corps) holding the roads leading to Bethesda Church and Mechanicsville. On their front were the divisions of Hoke, Kershaw, Pickett, and Field, two of them recent reënforcements, holding a double line of intrenchments from right to left in the above order. There was much open ground where artillery was placed, which played its part in the battle about to open. The attack was made by the two corps simultaneously along

the whole line with much spirit and force. Ricketts's division of the Sixth Corps struck the left of Hoke's division and the right of Kershaw's, carrying the main intrenchments with a rush and securing over five hundred prisoners. A part of the lost ground was recovered by the Confederates and a new line was formed in rear of the part permanently held by Ricketts. The casualties in the Sixth were twelve hundred killed and wounded. The Eighteenth was less successful, but carried the intrenched picket line, taking two hundred and fifty prisoners. It gained a position, and held it close to the main line, which it had failed to break through. General Devens's leading division lost heavily, and the corps a full thousand.

On the afternoon of the first of June, General Hancock was ordered to withdraw from his works soon after dark and make every effort to reach Cold Harbor by daylight, and to join on the left of the Sixth Corps in season to coöperate in another attack, in which, according to orders, all the forces about Cold Harbor were to participate. The message to Hancock was couched in especially urgent language and every effort was made to comply with it, but the difficulties of the march were so great that it was half past six before the head of the column reached Cold Harbor, where it was found that the men were in such a state of exhaustion that time for rest was absolutely necessary. This and additional reasons postponed the attack until five o'clock in the afternoon, when a second postponement continued the delay until half-past four of the following morning.

During the second the skirmishers kept up a heavy fire, and many changes of position were

made. The Fifth and Ninth Corps were drawn in toward the Eighteenth; the Second Corps filled the space between the Chickahominy and the left of Wright; the Second Division of the Sixth Corps took Devens's place; and Devens was transferred to the right of the Eighteenth. The movements on the right were not effected without considerable fighting in which several divisions participated, and in which General Dole, a very gallant Southern officer, was killed.

Lee's army was now in position on the left bank of the Chickahominy, only a few miles from the fortifications of Richmond, and it was thought that if his lines could be broken with a river behind him the results would justify the risk of a general assault by the whole army.

Rain commenced to fall on the second and continued through the night, and, although refreshing after the extreme heat of the past few days, brought much discomfort to men sleeping unsheltered on the ground. Promptly at the hour named on the morning of the third, the Second, Sixth and Eighteenth Corps advanced under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry and soon gained the enemy's rifle-pits. At nearly every point not only was there a direct fire from the front, but shot and shell and bullets came pouring on the flanks of every column, from Smith on the right to Hancock on the left. Notwithstanding the fact that men were everywhere falling like leaves in autumn, the advance was continued on each front until in some places positions were gained as near as thirty yards from the enemy's works, but beyond this the men could not go. Seeking cover wherever they could, the troops planted their battle flags and held the ground so dearly bought. Barlow's division

carried a salient on the road from Dispatch Station and after a severe struggle took three hundred prisoners, one battle-flag, and three guns which were turned upon the retreating forces. The salient so gallantly carried was subject to an enfilading fire and fresh troops from Breckinridge's division and others from Hill's corps rushed forward to retake it. With great stubbornness the brigades of Brooke and Miles held on, and continued to battle against great odds until all hope of reënforcements was abandoned, when they retired a few yards and began to fortify a position, using their bayonet to loosen the earth and their tin plates for shovels with which to throw it forward, and thus they remained for the rest of the day, holding what they called their tin plate intrenchments.

Gibbon's division, with which the Twentieth acted, was cut in two, as it moved forward, by an impassable swamp, which forced one wing to the right and the other to the left of it. A single regiment alone of Haskell's brigade gained the breastworks. It was the One Hundred and Sixty-fourth New York, and was led forward by its gallant commander, Colonel McMahon, who, carrying its colors in his own hand, fell dead in the midst of the enemy. A portion of Smythe's brigade also gained, but could not hold, the intrenchments. In twenty-two minutes from the time the signal was given every portion of the corps had been repulsed, and in this short time three thousand men had fallen. Colonels McKeen, Byrnes, Haskell, Morris, McMahon and Porter were killed; and Generals Tyler and Brooke were severely wounded. These were among the bravest and most accomplished officers of the corps. Colonel Frank A. Haskell, a lieutenant on General Gibbon's staff, was appointed to the command of the Thirty-sixth Wisconsin for

his great services during the battle of Gettysburg. For a while, as least, he was the only mounted officer with the Second Corps when Pickett's men broke through the lines on Cemetery Ridge, and thousands looked on with admiration as he rode between the fighting lines, calling upon the men to follow him and hurl back the foe. During the night of the 2d of June Haskell, McMahon, and McKeen slept on the ground under the same blanket. They were close friends. They were young men, and each as a staff officer had gained a brilliant reputation not only for personal gallantry, but for conspicuous intelligence and faithfulness in every duty. About the same time they were appointed colonels of regiments from their respective states. McKeen's commission being of earlier date, he was in command of the brigade and the two friends were serving under him. During the evening they were talking together in a pleasant vein as to whose lot it would be to be hit first the next day, for it was known that the assault was to be made in the early morning. Within fifteen minutes from the time the lines were formed on the third the three were dead. McKeen fell first, then Haskell his successor in command of the brigade, then McMahon, having reached the parapet with the colors of the regiment in his hands, fell dead inside the enemy's lines.[1] Gibbon's division on this day lost 2217 officers and men killed and wounded. The Fifth and Ninth Corps were so far committed to the battle as to lose 1200, making a grand total for the army of 8411. As the main assault was made by the three corps on the left, and, as it lasted no longer than thirty minutes at any point, the fearful rapidity with

[1] The foregoing facts were related to the writer by Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles.

which the men must have fallen is easily seen. On no other battle-field during the war was such a mortality list made up in so short a space of time.

The troops were ordered to hold the advance positions gained, and information soon filtered down from headquarters through the ranks that no further assaults would be ordered, and that siege operations would be commenced at once for the purpose of driving Lee beyond the Chickahominy. This rumor may have been circulated for the purpose of removing the disquieting feelings that would have otherwise prevailed, but that such an idea was ever entertained by General Grant there is no reason to believe. The work undertaken and carried on during the nine days that the army passed at Cold Harbor took on the character of siege operations. The advanced positions gained on the morning of the third, and held during the day were connected with the main line, and everywhere the intrenchments were reconstructed so as to form a line of massive proportions. It was very irregular, running forward in places to within thirty yards of the enemy, and then receding in a way to leave many of those salients where the Confederates were able to pour in a cross fire upon them with infantry and artillery. The parapets were lifted to a height of eight feet and the thickness of the works were generally not less than twelve feet. To protect the men in the trenches from an enfilading fire, traverses were constructed in many places of great height and thickness, which gave the appearance, looking at them from the rear, of a long row of gigantic horse stalls.

The Twentieth went into the trenches for twenty-four hours every third day, and this was the rule for all. From the 3d until the 12th of June there were

nine memorable days, filled with labor and watching, telling fearfully upon the physical strength, which made itself manifest at the hospitals, where the number of sick grew to be very large. Notwithstanding the heavy losses there was no despondency; the men took their turns in the trenches with cheerfulness, though there was never for a moment any cessation of firing. Standing behind an earth embankment twelve feet thick and of height to protect the tallest head seemed comfortable and safe compared with charging through open fields against works of like character held by the enemy. For six miles from right to left there was not a space of twenty feet where holes of sufficient size to run out a rifle had not been ingeniously made, through which the best marksmen were at work during the day whenever an object worthy of a shot was seen. The enemy were not behind in these devices, and the experts in gunnery on either side kept up a species of Indian warfare from light until darkness, until the evening of the 12th of June. It is not known which party came off best in this contest, but many were killed and wounded each day. Once the bullets of two of these duelists met at mid-distance, and the sound of the crash was distinctly heard.

Just to the right of the Twentieth was a valley through which ran a little stream which necessitated leaving an uncovered space in the line which divided the next regiment into two parts. Although, whenever any one crossed from side to side, there was always one or more rifles pointed at him, there was ever some one ready to take the risk, and several paid the penalty of their useless bravado. One day the colonel of the regiment was called upon to go across for some duty or other, and, escaping the first fusillade by

jumping behind a large pine tree, he drew a second by exposing his hat, which was riddled, and then ran across in safety. The tedium of life in the trenches was sometimes relieved in the evening by bringing up the regimental bands, and the Confederates doing the same, we had the pleasure of having two concerts at the same time. There was the same rivalry among the musicians as among the sharpshooters, each trying to outdo the other. Usually arms were silent while the bands played. Each side would cheer its national airs. It was indeed a kind of musical duel, for when our bands struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," theirs would break out with "Bonnie Blue Flag," and "America" was matched with "My Maryland." Once when "Old John Brown" was being given with much vigor and snap, the rival concert ceased and twenty cannon thundered an answer to the insolent song.

When the regiment was off duty and presumably resting, a quarter of a mile to the rear, there was never absolute security from danger. Bullets and shells were occasionally flying over us or dropping into the camp. The enemy had brought up some Coehorn mortars, then heard for the first time, which threw shells high into the air to drop down no one could tell where. By night the burning fuse marked the upward flight and graceful curve as it descended to the ground. There was a good amount of powder and iron wasted in this way, for they seldom, if ever, did any real harm, though sleeping was not always sound during the performance of such an entertainment. When, as on the 7th of June, there was a furious outburst from Coehorns, artillery and musketry, the position in the trenches was by far the safest, for the rear of the army was swept by a tempest

of shell and bullets. General Hancock's headquarters, which were near the front, were struck several times, and the provost marshal of the corps was killed while standing in the doorway of his tent.

On the front and to the rear there were both comic and tragic happenings. Tears and smiles follow on war as on peace. One of the men was boiling coffee in a tin cup over a fire he had kindled close to one of the Coehorn shells that had dropped without exploding. He was sitting close beside it, watching with interest for the time when his drink would be ready for use, when the great shell exploded and scattered fire and coffee cup to the four winds. He sat there unmoved and unharmed, contemplating the wreckage, deploring his luck, and finally exclaimed, "There! that cussed thing has upset my coffee!"

One day (the date is unimportant, but it was the 8th of June) two sutlers drove up in an open buggy with a load of tobacco which they intended to sell at a large profit. They were the first of the venders of comforts which the army had seen since crossing the Rapidan. The ground was cut up with four or five nearly parallel lines of intrenchments for one purpose or another, some continuous and others broken, but all with openings great or small through them. The team was driven about between these to any place where a group of soldiers was seen; but before much merchandise had been disposed of, one of those stray bullets struck the horse, which, smarting from pain, ran with frightened speed into one of the intrenchments, where he was killed, the carriage shattered into worthless pieces, and the tobacco scattered about the ground. The soldiers gathered it up and the sutlers

departed carrying a broken harness, the only thing saved from a costly venture.

Between the 9th and 11th of June a new line of intrenchments was built in rear of Cold Harbor, running from Elder Swamp to Allen's Mill Pond. There was much speculation among the men who worked on them as to what could be the object of their construction. It was soon made known to them.

On the 7th of June General Sheridan started with two divisions of cavalry for Charlottesville, with instructions to General Hunter, whom he expected to meet there, to join with him in thoroughly destroying the Central Railroad and then unite with the Army of the Potomac. It was necessary to put this road out of use as it carried supplies into Richmond, and a movement was about to be undertaken to transfer the army to the south of the James River. The nine days spent at Cold Harbor after the battle were wholly devoted to perfecting arrangements for carrying out this delicate and complicated movement. The plan was known only to the few who were charged with arranging the necessary preliminaries. A pontoon bridge of twenty-one hundred feet had first to be provided to span the river, and, when laid, the approaches to it on either side must be so constructed that the army could commence its passage as soon as it reached the northern end. There was not one of the many details that was not completed on time. The bridges across the Chickahominy were laid at one o'clock on the morning of the 13th; they were made from the pontoons that followed the army.

Soon after dark on the evening of the 12th, the

army commenced withdrawing from the lines around Cold Harbor. The Second and Sixth Corps moved into the new line from Elder Swamp to Allen's Mill Pond, which it was to hold until the other corps and all the trains had passed by. Wilson's cavalry took the advance, and during the night crossed at Long Bridge and moved out to White Oak Bridge and Riddell's Shop, which gave the impression to Lee that Richmond was again to be threatened from the south side. The Fifth Corps followed Wilson, crossed at the same bridge, and relieved the cavalry at White Oak Bridge with two divisions, the other two being stationed in the rear for support. The cavalry was thrown out on the Charles City and Central roads, each leading to Richmond, where sharp skirmishing took place, the losses here during the day being about three hundred. These positions and the one at Malvern Hill were held until the 15th. Warren and Wilson furnished the curtain that screened the real movement from the enemy, the object and direction of which General Lee did not learn until the 17th.

The Second Corps followed on behind Warren, and during the night of the 14th crossed to the south side of the James. The Sixth and Ninth Corps crossed the Chickahominy on bridges constructed for them and took other roads to the river, while the trains and artillery followed routes still further to the east. By midnight of the 16th the army with all its trains and artillery was over the James. This movement was more complicated and fraught with more danger than the crossing of the Rapidan in May, and the clear and carefully prepared orders under which it was executed reflect the highest credit upon General Humphreys

for scientific knowledge and practical skill in preparing orders for the movements of a large army.

The regiment suffered the following losses between the 18th of May and the 15th of June.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF. Wounded: Sergeant-Major George W. Leach. Captured: Principal Musician John Stevens.

COMPANY A. Killed: Privates Nehemiah F. Ball, Thomas C. Mack. Wounded: Privates Benjamin B. Besse, Patrick O'Connor, Charles Goodwin, William Gartland. Captured: Musician William Baker; Drummer Charles H. Hall. Missing: Privates George Marshall, Charles Milton.

COMPANY B. Wounded: Privates Emil Brightfeldt, Constantine Elsner, William Lippert. Captured: Privates Henry C. Bornemann, Frederick Tendt, John Veillard. Missing: Privates Philip Carey, Frederick Schrader, Adolph Wolfram.

COMPANY C. Killed: Private Michael Wolf. Wounded: Captain John Kelliher, ; Private Edmund G. Lippert.

COMPANY D. Killed: Privates John Dag, Charles Munroe, August Steinhoffer. Wounded: Captain Henry L. Patten; Privates John Devine, Charles Matthews.

COMPANY E. Killed: Private John Smith. Wounded: Privates Oswald Durant, Henry Eggers, Frank Heill, Carl Jordan. Captured: Private John H. F. Schmidtz. Missing: Privates Karl A. J. Albers, Joseph Chapman, Edward Kippler, Ludwig Miller, William Pecher, Harie Schmidt.

COMPANY F. Killed: Private Rudolph Alpin. Wounded: Captain John H. Summerhays; Privates Julius Cæsar, Albert Heinrich, Martin Mulroy. Missing: Privates Albert Heinrich, John Staum.

COMPANY G. Killed: First Sergeant William A. Johnson, Private Ezra D. Chace. Wounded: First Lieutenant J. W. R. Holland; Sergeant Patrick Crowley; Corporals John Flynn, Edward Long; Privates —— Ackard, James Duker, Michael Hasset, August Huhn. Missing: Privates John Brunt, Thomas Moeller. Captured: Private Henry C. A. L. Peitz.

COMPANY H. Wounded: Privates William Hehl, John Wheeling, William Wilson.

COMPANY I. Killed: Private A. C. Bean. Wounded: Captain Arthur R. Curtis; Private William O. Day. Captured: Private John O'Connor.

COMPANY K. Killed: Private James Smith. Wounded: First Sergeant Joseph H. Parker; Private Michael F. Hogan. Captured: Private John W. Baxter. Missing: Privates George Albanes, John Anderson, Ernst Kyd, Herman J. Loretz.

CHAPTER XIX

PETERSBURG

THE Eighteenth Corps, which had joined the Army of the Potomac on the 3d of June, was now ordered back to Bermuda Hundred. It marched to White House on the 12th and was transported to its destination, arriving at Point of Rocks on the Appomattox during the afternoon of the 14th. General Smith was directed to move across the river at daylight of the 15th, with his own corps and such other troops as General Butler could spare, and take possession of Petersburg, being informed of the movements of the rest of the army, some portion of which, it was assured him, would be near on the afternoon of that day for such assistance and support as he might need. Smith did not assault the defences about Petersburg until seven o'clock in the evening, when, being defended by a small force, they were carried by a line of skirmishers. Five redans, with the artillery and forces in them, were captured and the way was open to enter the city.

General Grant had visited General Butler on the 14th, and, while with him, had given the orders under which Smith was acting. With the large force given him it was expected that Petersburg would be taken, and that the arrival of the Army of the Potomac, which was hurrying forward to the same place, would be in season to hold the line

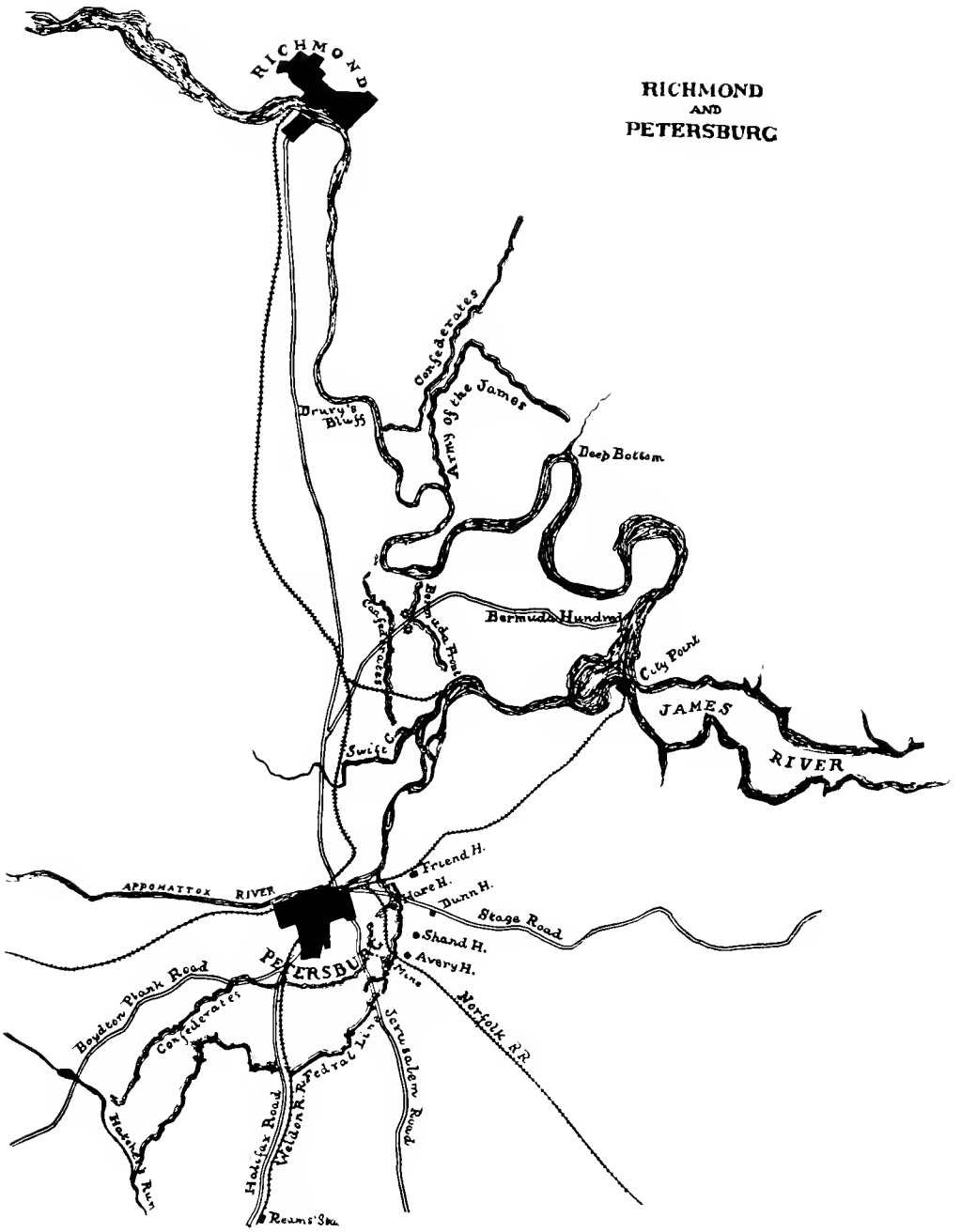
of the Appomattox, and thus cut off access to Richmond by every road except that from Danville. A single track for the hauling of supplies would not be equal to the support of Lee's army, and the fall of the Confederate capital could not long be delayed. The great flank movement across the James had been devised with this object in view, but the full realization of it was lost by the failure of General Smith to perform the part entrusted to him.

General Hancock was informed that supplies for his corps would be forwarded to Windmill Point on the south of the James, and he was directed to supply his troops and move on to Petersburg. Unfortunately he was not informed of the attack to be made upon that city, and, after waiting in vain for the promised provisions, he started at half past ten in the forenoon of the 15th on a seventeen mile march, which ended at half past seven on his arrival at the lines already captured. He generously offered to waive his rank in favor of Smith and place himself and his troops under the latter's orders, but the only request made of him was to relieve the troops in the captured works, which he did. During the whole of the 15th, and until nine o'clock in the evening, the Confederate forces in and about Petersburg consisted of about two or three thousand indifferent troops, mostly militia. Unfortunately, General Hancock had become so far disabled by the breaking out of his Gettysburg wounds that he was unable to ride, but, during the night, he ordered his division commanders to take any points commanding their positions at or before daylight of the next morning. General Egan carried a battery to the left in gallant manner, but

was wounded in the action. General Birney was unable to accomplish much on his front, his attack being delayed until a much later hour than that contemplated in the orders, which gave the enemy time to occupy the very position he was expected to secure.

General Meade sent an order to Hancock to assume command of all the troops at Petersburg and select positions for a general assault which was to take place at six o'clock in the afternoon. The attack was made by Birney and Barlow, in which a part of Gibbon's division and two brigades of the Eighteenth Corps participated, capturing three more redoubts with the connecting rifle-pits, but without really satisfying results. During the night two unsuccessful attempts were made by the Confederates to recover their lost ground.

Early on the morning of the 17th, General S. G. Griffin of the Ninth Corps carried the lines about the Shand house, some distance south of where the previous operations had taken place, in handsome style, capturing six hundred prisoners and four pieces of artillery with caissons and horses, and one battle-flag. This assault had been carefully prepared during the night: the men had been led into position with no word spoken above a whisper, and, on the first appearance of light, the line sprang forward and rushed over the parapets to find the Confederates just rising up from sleep. Later in the day General Wilcox made an attack upon a line in front of the Shand house beyond Harrison Creek, but was unable to gain it. Later still, Ledlie's division met with some success against the same position, capturing a portion of the intrenchments, a hundred prisoners, and a stand of


RICHMOND
AND
PETERSBURG
RICHMOND
Confederates
Army of the James
Drury's Bluff
Deep Bottom
Bermuda Hundred
City Point
JAMES
RIVER
Swift C.
APPOMATTOX RIVER
Friend H.
Hare H.
Dunn H.
Stage Road
Shand H.
Avery H.
PETERSBURG
Norfolk R.R.
Boydton Plank Road
Confederates
Jerusalem Road
Halifax Road
Weldon R.R.
Federal Line
Reams's Sta.

colors; but was ultimately compelled to abandon them. Barlow, Crawford, Gibbon, and Birney were also engaged, gaining some ground west of Harrison's Creek, but no great results were anywhere achieved.

During the time that Smith, Hancock, and others were making these assaults upon Petersburg, General Lee held his army north of the James in complete ignorance of the whereabouts of the Army of the Potomac, being unable to fathom General Grant's grand strategic movement. At half past three on the afternoon of the 17th, he telegraphed to General W. H. F. Lee to push after the enemy and ascertain what had become of Grant's army. It was from General Beauregard that he learned, an hour later, of its location.

On the morning of the 18th, it was ascertained that the enemy had evacuated the intrenchments which they had been occupying since the 15th, and had taken up a new line much shorter and nearer to the city. General Meade at once ordered the Second, Ninth, and Fifth Corps, being in this order from right to left, to advance and attack along the whole line. His instructions were very urgent that every effort should be made to gain possession of Petersburg before Lee could come up with reinforcements. The Second Corps advanced to the Hare House Hill and found the enemy intrenched about three hundred yards to the west. Generals Burnside and Warren were delayed for a long time in driving the enemy from the deep cut of the Norfolk Railroad. It was found impossible to combine the movements of the three corps, and General Birney, who was in command of the Second Corps owing to the disability of Hancock,

who had now wholly succumbed to his old wounds, made two assaults about mid-day with Gibbon's division, both of which were repulsed. Late in the afternoon the three corps again assaulted along a front of more than a mile, and, though nowhere breaking through the line, secured positions close to the enemy which were fortified and held until the close of the war. Mott's division was at the Hare house, from which place his attack was made, during which the First Maine Heavy Artillery, serving as infantry, suffered a loss of over six hundred men — the largest loss of any regiment in a single battle during the war! No further attempt was made to break through the enemy's fortifications until the spring of 1865, except at the time of the mine explosion, more than a month later. General Grant directed General Meade to place the troops under cover and grant them a rest which was greatly needed.

Every report made by brigade, division, and corps commanders, relating to the operations of the 15th and 18th of June, called the attention of the commanding general to the fact that the men no longer possessed the spirit shown at the beginning of the campaign, and that the character and frequency of the battles in which they had been engaged had reduced the physical and moral strength of the army very near to what might prove a point of danger. Rest and recuperation were necessary to restore the physical and moral energies, but there was much gone that could not be restored. In General Gibbon's division, with which the Twentieth had so long been associated, three brigades had had seventeen different commanders between the 3d of May and the 31st of July, of whom three

had been killed and six wounded. During the same period forty regimental commanders in twenty-one regiments had been killed or wounded. The effect upon the troops of such brigade and regimental commanders as Carroll, Webb, Baxter, Connor, Haskell, McMahon, Macy, Abbott and many others can only partially be estimated, even by those who know what strength and confidence is given to any military organization when led by a man endowed with every qualification for command.

The moment General Grant gave the order to desist from the attempt to win Petersburg by assault, he adopted a new policy which was continued without change to the end. The works from the Appomattox to the Jerusalem Plank Road were ordered to be put into a state that would allow of their being held by a small force, thus permitting the withdrawal of the larger part of the army for operations upon the right and left of the enemy, especially to his right, so as to cut the roads leading to Petersburg, or to compel him to assume the offensive to protect them when they should really be threatened. The Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James were now united, and, though with separate commanders, were acting as one force under the orders of the commander-in-chief. The Army of the James, holding a position between the Appomattox and the James, constituted the right flank, and, with only a short line of great strength, could from time to time furnish a movable column of ten thousand men for any enterprise.

In three days the lines in front of Petersburg had been so strengthened by the construction of enclosed redoubts, connected by infantry parapets,

withdeep ditches and abatis in front, that, on the 21st of June, the Second Corps was moved across the Jerusalem Plank Road to connect at that point with the left of the Fifth Corps, with instructions to extend to the southwest as far as possible. At the same time the Sixth Corps, passing in rear of the Second, took a position on its left. On the 22d General Birney, temporarily in command of the Second Corps, was directed to swing forward his left, Gibbon's division, which connected with the Fifth Corps, remaining stationary; General Wright was ordered to seize the Weldon Railroad, and after making connection the two corps were to intrench. These movements were begun through an unknown and closely wooded country, and the further they progressed the wider became the gulf between the two corps. Wright was moving nearly west toward Globe Tavern and Birney was swinging his left forward in a northerly direction. Gibbon had intrenched his position, Mott was at work upon his, and Barlow was just coming up to the line, when the unprotected left was attacked by Mahone's and Johnson's divisions, which had worked their way in between the two corps. Barlow's division first gave way, then Mott's, the enemy coming down upon the front and left flank of Gibbon's division, sweeping the line up to the position of the Twentieth regiment. Major Patten, commanding the regiment, correctly divining the situation by the sound of the steadily advancing fire, changed front to left and quickly threw up light intrenchments and thus stopped the enemy in his victorious career and saved that part of the division to the right.

Major Patten was highly commended for doing

the right thing at the right time and the regiment was highly commended for its steadiness and valor under such trying circumstances. This was the last conspicuous act that it was destined to perform, for its numbers soon were so reduced as to form only a single company, and at one time there were only ten men to rally around its color, with a single non-commissioned officer in command.

The 22d of June is looked back to by the survivors of the Second Corps as one of the darkest days in its history, for, being in a position in which it was not able to defend itself, it was compelled to retreat without a battle, and lost seventeen hundred prisoners and four guns, — the only ones ever really taken from it by the enemy. The Fifteenth Massachusetts, which had served in the Second Corps since its organization, was captured almost entire and does not again appear on its roster. The next day the corps moved forward and took up the position from which it had been driven and the Sixth connected upon its left. On the 9th of July the Sixth Corps was sent to Washington in consequence of Early's invasion of Maryland, and, on the 11th, the Second was withdrawn from the intrenchments and massed in rear of the Fifth Corps where it remained until the 26th of July.

The term of service for the Twentieth expired on the 18th of July, and the men who had not reënlisted, amounting in all to twenty-one present, and including the absent to about sixty, were sent home under Lieutenant Magnitzky to be mustered out of the service. The remaining men were organized into seven companies and the remnants of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, present and absent,

were transferred to the regiment, and on the rolls were consolidated into three companies.

For seventeen days after the departure of the Sixth Corps the work of strengthening the lines was diligently prosecuted, as general orders commanded that the hostile works should only be approached by regular siege operations. A number of large mortars were placed in the various forts, and their ponderous shells dropping into Petersburg, shook the earth like small earthquakes. The noise was almost deafening. One throwing a shell of two hundred pounds, located near the Friend house, was known as the "Petersburg Express." The severe Confederate conscription laws provided that every judge and clerk of a county court that failed in holding a session within a certain period should be liable to military service. When our army crossed the James River these officials for Prince George County were swept into Petersburg, and, in time, became liable to be forced into the army. The clerk discovered that on one point in the Confederate line there was a bomb-proof that stood within the limits of the county. A notice was at once inserted in the proper papers that on a certain day a term of the court would be held in the aforesaid bomb-proof. At the appointed day and hour the judge, clerk, and sheriff proceeded to the spot and opened the court with all the formalities usual to such occasions. Just as the sheriff, acting as crier, was calling upon all persons having business to come forward, and was assuring them that they should be heard, a two-hundred pound shell from the "Petersburg Express" dropped near the bomb-proof causing the court to leave hastily and without the trouble of a formal adjournment. How-

ever, this ruse sufficed to render the officials exempt from military service for another year.

From June 15 to June 24 the regiment met with the following losses in the battles about Petersburg: —

COMPANY A. Killed: Private Oliver S. Bates. Wounded: First Sergeant George E. Tower; Privates Edwin E. Dresser, Albert F. Hathaway.

COMPANY B. Wounded: Privates Heinrich Malder, Wilhelm Bettigs.

COMPANY C. Killed: Nathan Freindenburg. Wounded: Privates George Fritsch, Joseph Heim. Captured: Private Patrick Huite.

COMPANY D. Wounded: Sergeant Charles J. Curtis; Corporal Peter Dudley; Privates Robert Hart, Charles Matthews.

COMPANY E. Wounded: Sergeant Cornelius Kallaher, Samuel Torrence.

COMPANY F. Killed: Sergeant John Powers; Privates John Cronin, William Talbirt. Wounded: Sergeant Dennis Shea; Privates Charles McCarthy, Levi Locke.

COMPANY G. Killed: Private Thomas McFaul. Wounded: Privates John Laurich, William Mitchell.

COMPANY H. Wounded: Privates William Hamburger, Robert McKenney, Timothy Wiley.

COMPANY I. Killed: Private Isaac Burgess. Wounded: Private William Deane.

COMPANY K. Killed: Sergeant John Burke; Private Henry Bowman. Wounded: Sergeant Orrin Day.

CHAPTER XX

DEEP BOTTOM, REAMS'S STATION, BOYDTON ROAD

THOUGH it was not generally known, Colonel Pleasants, of the Fifty-eighth Pennsylvania, was running a shaft for the purpose of blowing a mine under a redan in front of the Ninth Corps. The work, which had occupied the last part of July, was ready for charging on the 23d, and the 30th was fixed upon for its explosion. In order to draw away a part of the forces from the south of the Appomattox, General Hancock, who had now resumed his command, was ordered to make a demonstration on the north of the James. General Sheridan, with a large cavalry force, was to accompany him, and, in case but few troops were found to oppose, the object and scope of the movement was to be enlarged and turned into a real attack which might result in the capture of Richmond. Under any circumstances Sheridan was ordered to move north and destroy the two railroads upon the north side of the city.

The Second Corps started from camp on the afternoon of the 26th, crossed the river at Broadway Landing, passed behind the Army of the James, and, at two o'clock of the 27th, began crossing the James on two pontoon bridges which had been laid some time previous. General Foster, of the Tenth Corps, protected the crossing by earthworks on the left bank which were held by part

of his division. The infantry and cavalry were over the river before daybreak, and, as soon as it was light, moved forward with the purpose of turning the left of the force holding the right bank of Bailey's Creek, which runs at right angles to the James and flows into it at the northern end of Jones's Neck.

It was soon discovered that Kershaw's and Wilcox's divisions were confronting us. The safety of Richmond, as well as that of Washington, could not be neglected, and these two divisions had been for some time in their present positions unknown to the Federal commander. General Grant, in ignorance of this fact, had thought that there was a possibility of taking the Confederate capital by surprise, but General Hancock had been informed that if he found a strong force holding the fortifications he was not to assault them; therefore, in full knowledge of the real situation, he proceeded to accomplish what may be considered as the secondary object of the movement.

The corps, followed by the cavalry, was advanced rapidly along the east side of the creek as far as the Newmarket Road, where a line of works protected by artillery and some infantry from Kershaw's division was discovered, which the skirmishers with great skill and promptness ran over, capturing some prisoners and four fine twenty-pound Parrott guns. The pursuit of the escaping forces was vigorously pushed as far as the creek, which was found to be strongly guarded. Gibbon was left to hold and demonstrate along the front, and Mott and Barlow with the cavalry pushed farther to the right in hopes of turning the enemy's flank in that direction. General Grant came over in the afternoon and rode along the line, and from his observations concluded that

nothing farther could be done. On the 28th Sheridan, while feeling farther to the right, had a spirited engagement in which he captured two hundred prisoners and two stands of colors. General Lee became alarmed at the reports received, and, on the 27th, sent Fields's division of infantry and Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry division as reënforcements. The movement thus accomplished one of its objects in withdrawing a considerable force from Petersburg. Five-eighths of the Confederate army was now north of the James, and no part of it could be returned in season to take part in the great struggle which was to follow the springing of the mine.

On the night of the 28th, Mott's division returned to Petersburg, and during the evening of the 30th relieved the Eighteenth Corps in the intrenchments to act in support of the Ninth the next day. The remaining divisions, with the cavalry, returned the following night, and reached the high ground near the Friend house just in season to see Elliott's salient lifted up one hundred feet in air and turned into a fountain of earth intermixed with guns, caissons, limbers, carriages, wheels, logs, and human beings, the whole surrounded by a spray of dust which the morning sun tinged with crimson light. The corps lost twenty-six killed, one hundred and nine wounded, and fifty-seven prisoners. The Twentieth was not seriously engaged, but while performing picket duty, Lieutenant Sedgwick and thirty-two men were captured.

During the 30th, while the bloody drama of the mine was being enacted, the Twentieth was in camp, and what was going on at the time was principally learned from what could be heard, for but little could be seen. The bright promise of entering Petersburg

that day, to which the mine had opened the gateway, was not realized by reason of the incompetence of some and the cowardice of others who were in charge of this important enterprise. It was a great disappointment, and the occasion of much chagrin. The numbers of the army were lessened by nearly four thousand, but it was in a way strengthened by the removal soon afterwards of several officers who were adjudged responsible for this lamentable failure.

Early in August General Sheridan was assigned to the command of the forces operating against General Early. Soon after, General Torbert's and General Wilson's cavalry divisions were sent to him, and, about the same time, Kershaw's division and Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry division were sent to the aid of Early.

The Twentieth remained in camp until the 12th of August, when it marched with the corps to City Point. Colonel Macy had returned, having been absent since his wound in the Wilderness, and was assigned to the command of the brigade.

DEEP BOTTOM AGAIN

General Grant, having been erroneously informed that Lee had sent one cavalry and three infantry divisions to Early, ordered the Second Corps to cross the James again at Deep Bottom under instructions similar to those previously given. The Tenth Corps, which had been commanded by General Birney since the 22d of July, and Gregg's cavalry, were placed under General Hancock's orders.

The movement of the corps to City Point was made with the object of giving General Lee the impression that it was to be sent to Washington, and because

it was thought advisable to transport it in steamers. The summer of 1864 was one of excessive heat. For forty-five successive days no rain had fallen and a tropical sun, unveiled by a single cloud, beat down upon the earth. Springs and streams had dried up and nowhere was there a green thing visible. The trees were loaded with a coating of dust that obscured their natural coloring and neutralized everything to a dusty brown. The clayey soil was baked into a hardened mass, but its surface was covered with a fine dust that floated in the air like a mist, and, while it somewhat obscured the brightness of the sun's rays, it made the heat more oppressive and harder to bear. The hot and suffocating nights took from sleep its usual refreshment after the hard labors of the day. These facts alone would have sufficed for the determination to send the troops by water.

At half-past ten in the evening of the 13th the corps left City Point, but, owing to the difficulties experienced by the steamers of deep draught in reaching the wharves, it was nearly eight o'clock on the following morning before the troops were landed. The heat of the day was something dreadful; before noon one hundred and five men in two regiments had been overcome by it. As the column moved forward it passed between rows of men lying on either side of the road, either dead or dying from sunstroke. The movement was, and could not have been otherwise, languid and spiritless. It was four o'clock in the afternoon before Barlow had got his division into position on the west side of Bailey's Creek near the Jennings house. One of his brigades showed such signs of demoralization that Barlow decided upon delivering an attack with a single brigade, which was gallantly led by Colonel Macy, who was

again injured by the falling of his horse. Major Patten led the Twentieth with coolness and intrepidity, but its attack, like that of the brigade, was delivered in a way never before seen, and was easily defeated. Major Patten received a mortal wound from which he died soon after in the hospital.

During the night of the 14th the Tenth Corps was marched to Fussell's Mill on the right of Gibbon's division, where it remained the following day. On the morning of the 16th Gregg's cavalry, supported by Miles's brigade, was sent up the Charles City Road as far as White's Tavern, where it had an encounter with the enemy's cavalry and defeated it. The Confederate General Chambliss was killed in the fight. At ten o'clock in the forenoon Birney attacked with Terry's division, who succeeded after a short contest in gaining the enemy's lines and capturing about three hundred prisoners and three stands of colors. Soon after the Confederates became aggressive and drove Terry from his captured works, and compelled Gregg and Miles to fall back by successive stages to Deep Bottom. On the 18th the enemy again attacked Birney in his new position, and, so sharp was the firing, Miles was sent to his assistance with two brigades, and the enemy was finally repulsed.

At eight o'clock on the evening of the 18th Mott's division was sent back to Petersburg on an order from General Grant, to take the place of the Ninth Corps in the intrenchments in order that the latter might be free to support General Warren in a movement about to be made by him against the Weldon Railroad. On the 20th, immediately after dark, the two divisions left Deep Bottom and marched back, by way of Point of Rocks, in a heavy rainstorm to

the Petersburg camps. The casualties of the corps aggregated nine hundred and fifteen in killed, wounded, and missing.

REAMS'S STATION

The men had scarcely been in camp long enough to make coffee when the Second and Third Divisions were ordered to the Strong house to finish a defensive line that had been marked out and partly constructed. From the Strong house they were sent on to Gurley house in rear of the Fifth Corps, which had seized the Weldon Railroad on the 17th of August while Hancock was on the north of the James. The enemy attempted to wrest the prize from Warren on the 18th, and during the day he lost nine hundred and thirty-six men, three hundred and ninety-two of whom were captured. On the 19th Lee renewed the contest with additional forces and again failed, though Warren lost three hundred and eighty-two killed and wounded, and two thousand five hundred and eighteen prisoners. On the 21st General Hill, with his corps, a part of Hoke's division, and Lee's cavalry, made the last attempt to recover the road, during which he lost heavily in killed and wounded and left five hundred and seventeen prisoners and six flags in Warren's hands. This day the loss of the Fifth Corps was only three hundred and one, while that of the enemy was estimated at about two thousand.

It was this determined and persistent effort on the part of Lee to regain the lost artery for supplies that justified the sending of the wearied Second Corps to the Gurley house. As Warren had proved himself strong enough to hold his position, and connection had been made with the main line, Hancock

was ordered on the 22d to destroy the Weldon Railroad as far south as Rowanty Creek, which would compel a haul by wagons of thirty miles of any supplies that might be sent over it. On the 24th the road had been completely wrecked for a distance of six miles. On this day the Twentieth marched with the Second Division to Reams's Station, and during the night the corps occupied some works that had been thrown up some weeks previously during Wilson's cavalry fight at that point.

A rifle-pit, seven hundred yards in length, had been constructed just west of the railroad track with returns at either end about a thousand yards in length, nearly parallel with each other. The works were in the shape of a parallelogram open at the east end, the side lines of which were so near to each other that artillery used in an attack upon them would render the opposite side untenable. The ground to the west was mostly clear, while from the north and south the wood in many places came quite up to the rifle-pits.

During the night of the 24th General Hancock received a despatch from General Meade informing him that large bodies of infantry had been seen passing south from Petersburg by the Halifax and Vaughan roads, probably destined to operate against Warren or himself, and in reply to his inquiry the number was stated to be eight or ten thousand.

General Hancock was not one to let such an admonition pass unnoticed, and, at daylight of the 25th, he directed Gregg to make a reconnoissance at once; and later ordered out his whole force supported by a brigade of infantry. The first squadron sent out reported that it had driven in the enemy's pickets but had not discovered any increase in the force on our

front. In consequence of this report Hancock decided to continue the work of destroying the road, but Gibbon's division had only got out of the works when some of the cavalry were driven in and Gibbon was obliged to deploy a part of his troops to stop the pursuing enemy. Gibbon was then directed to place the men in the rifle-pits which formed the left of the line.

Before noon the telegraph was in operation between Reams's Station and Warren's headquarters where General Meade then was. Having learned of the attack made in the morning, he sent Hancock a despatch, informing him that Mott with all his available force was marching to his support, and expressing his opinion that the enemy would either attack him or attempt to intervene between his position and that of Warren. It was his belief, also, that under the circumstances Hancock would not be able to do much more damage to the road and left the decision with him whether to withdraw or remain.

At this time the forces in front of the station were Lane's, Scales's, and McGowan's brigades of Wilcox's division; G. T. Anderson's brigade of Field's division; and two divisions of cavalry under General Wade Hampton — all under A. P. Hill, who, however, was sick and had given the command to General Wilcox. Hampton was sent to turn the left of Hancock's position and with him went McGowan's brigade. The other three brigades were formed to attack the northwest angle just beyond the railroad embankment. As this force advanced on to the open ground, it was met by a heavy fire from the troops in and near the angle and from two batteries behind that part of the line. In the first attack the Confederates

were repulsed with considerable loss, but some of the men came within a few yards of the rifle-pits. Some prisoners were taken by skirmishers thrown forward after this repulse. Colonel James A. Beaver, commanding a brigade in the First Division, was seriously wounded, having returned only a few moments before from absence caused by a wound received on the 16th of June.

General Hancock sent a dispatch to Meade at 2.45 P. M., stating that, being engaged, he could not safely retire at that time and advising that he should be withdrawn at night if he were not driven out before. About 3 P .M. General Heth arrived with two brigades and eight guns, closely followed by the brigades of Saunders and Weisinger, and to him was entrusted the arrangement for what proved to be the final attack.

General Heth selected the northwest angle for his point of attack, and formed the brigades of Cooke, McRae, Lane, and Scales into a strong column, with Anderson's and three regiments of McGowan's in support. Before the order to advance was given, a terrific fire of artillery was opened on that part of the line upon which the assault was to be made. At 5.40 the artillery ceased firing and the infantry began to move, slowly and with some difficulty at first, for they had to pass through some slashings under a severe fire, but, pressing on, they soon leaped over our slight breastworks and the victory was won. It is true that the troops were in a bad position, and they were perfectly conscious of it, but it is admitted that they behaved with little of that gallantry and showed none of that stubbornness in holding on that were their characteristics in the early days. The Twentieth, Captain Spencer commanding, was stationed

behind the railroad embankment near the southwest angle and was taken in the rear as the enemy burst over the works, and only one non-commissioned officer and ten men escaped capture. The number of killed and wounded will never be known.

While the cannonade and assault was taking place, a part of Gibbon's division was facing south, with its back to the enemy and the enemy's fire. A good part of it leaped over the works and faced to the north, where it still received a fire from Hampton's cavalry and some of McGowan's infantry from the south, and from the north the fire of Heth's men. No matter which way it turned it could not help being shot in the back. The position would have been trying under any circumstances, but here it became demoralizing. Every effort was made to form a new line, and every effort failed. The cavalry on the extreme left held firm and threw off several attempts to get round them. Between the lines all was confusion. It was the worst plight to which the corps had ever been reduced. It was defeat accompanied by disorder and the temporary breaking up of all organization. A few men were here and there left together, and finally a line was formed about three hundred yards from the railroad and parallel to it, but such was the demoralization everywhere apparent that all thought of an attempt to retrieve the disaster was abandoned, and a retreat in the best order possible was settled upon. General Hancock was so overcome by the sight of the scattered fragments of his once proud and powerful corps that he placed his hand on the shoulder of one of his staff officers and said to him, "I pray God I may never leave this field!"

The enemy showed little disposition to follow up

their victory and soon returned to Petersburg. There was no molestation to the troops in their retreat which began after dark, but to many the thought of Reams's Station brought more anguish than wounds from a pursuing enemy during that sad night march back to Petersburg.

Soon after the return from Reams's Station, General Grant ordered the construction of a very elaborate line of works for the defense of his left rear, and for some weeks the few remaining men of the Twentieth were engaged in building them. Captain Magnitzky returned on the 12th of September, and as ranking officer assumed command. He at once consolidated the remnants of the several companies into one, and, later, on the return of twenty-five convalescents, he formed the whole into three companies. From the 16th of September to the 24th of October we occupied Fort Hell, Fort Marston, Fort Rice, and Batteries No. Eleven and Twelve. These positions were more or less subject to artillery and mortar fire by which three men were killed and eleven wounded. During the next three days we were in the rear without any specific duty.

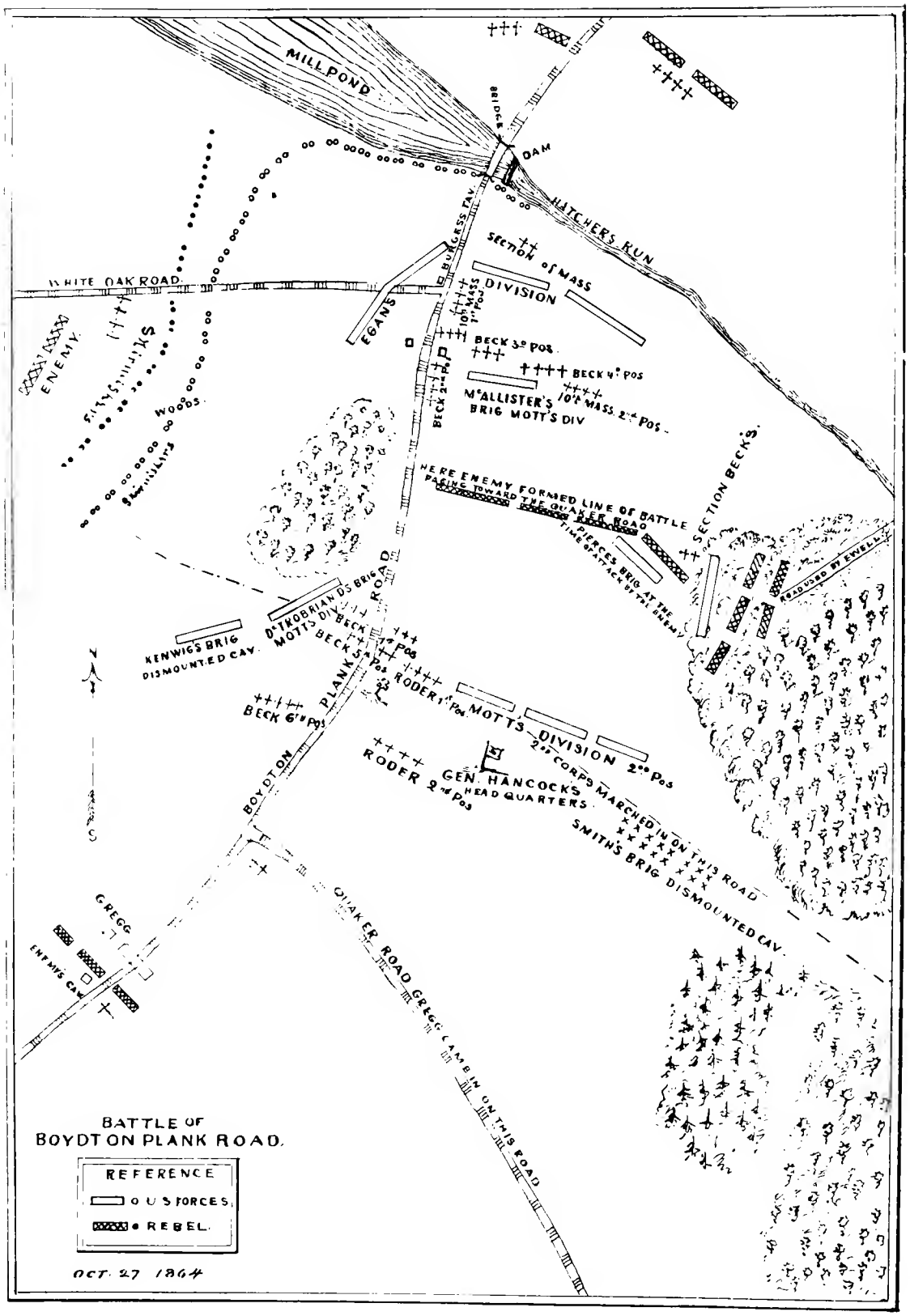
BOYDTON ROAD

In pursuance of the general plan adopted in June of extending our lines to the right and left, General Ord, who had succeeded Smith in the command of the Eighteenth Corps, crossed the James during the night of the 29th of September, with two divisions, and before nine o'clock in the morning carried by assault the enemy's lines across Chaffin's farm, including Fort Harrison. At the same time General Birney took Newmarket Heights. General Birney moved to the left and made connection with the Eight-

eenth Corps, and the lines thus gained were held until the close of the war. On the 30th, General Lee having brought over reënforcements from Petersburg until his whole force concentrated near Fort Gilmer amounted to ten brigades, endeavored to retake Fort Harrison by repeated assaults. In this he was defeated after a loss of nearly two thousand men. The Union loss in storming and defending the position on the two days was about the same.

On the 30th of September, General Warren, with the Fifth Corps, and General Parke, who had replaced Burnside, with the Ninth Corps captured the intrenchments at Peebles's farm, which resulted in the extension of the line about two miles further to the left. Both corps were at times smartly engaged, with a total loss of about two thousand.

The army was now permitted to rest from active operations until the 26th of October, during which time the Second Corps was considerably strengthened by the receipt of recruits and the return of convalescents, and its tone had also improved since the day of Reams's Station. Before the winter one more movement to the north of the James and another to the west of Petersburg were to be made, the object of each being to strike either flank of the Confederate army. The objective General Meade was to seek was the Southside Railroad, and all the available strength of his army was to be joined in the enterprise. On the afternoon of the 26th of October, Mott's division and Gibbon's, temporarily commanded by General Egan, moved along the rear of our intrenchments and encamped for the night on the Weldon Railroad. At half past three on the next morning General Egan started his column, closely followed by Mott, and, though


MILL POND
BRIDGE
DAM
HATCHER'S RUN
WHITE OAK ROAD
BURGESS TAV
EGANS
SECTION of MASS
DIVISION
10th MASS 1st POS
BECK 3d POS
BECK 4th POS
McALLISTER'S BRIG MOTT'S DIV
10th MASS 2d POS
BECK 2d POS
ENEMY
WOODS
HERE ENEMY FORMED LINE OF BATTLE FACING TOWARD THE QUAKER ROAD
TIME OF ATTACK 9 A.M.
PIERCES BRIG AT THE
SECTION BECK'S
REINFORCED BY EWELL
D'TKOBRIAN'S BRIG
MOTT'S DIV
BECK 1st POS
KENWIG'S BRIG
DISMOUNTED CAV.
BECK 5th POS
RODER 1st POS
MOTT'S DIVISION 2d POS
BECK 6th POS
PLANK ROAD
BOYDTON
2d CORPS MARCHED IN ON THIS ROAD
GEN. HANCOCK'S HEAD QUARTERS
RODER 2nd POS
SMITH'S BRIG DISMOUNTED CAV.
GREGG
ENEMY'S CAV
QUAKER ROAD GREGG CAME IN ON THIS ROAD
BATTLE OF
BOYDTON PLANK ROAD.
REFERENCE
U.S FORCES.
REBEL.
OCT. 27 1864

opposed by a skirmish line and delayed by obstructions placed upon the road, with the loss of about fifty men reached the Boydton Road just as a Confederate wagon train was crossing the bridge at Burgess's Mill. Some artillery on a hill near Burgess Tavern, and other guns to the left near the White Oak Road, opened fire, and were silenced by Beck's United States battery. General Egan had nearly reached the bridge over Hatcher's Run when General Meade sent an order for Hancock to halt on the road, and soon after joined him with General Grant.

The day was rainy and the other corps had not yet completed movements which were necessary for the safe advance of the Second Corps. General Parke was to advance to the front of the Confederate line, the right of which rested on the north side of Hatcher's Run, and hold the forces in their intrenchments while the turning movements were being carried forward by the Second and Fifth Corps. The country through which the troops were passing was heavily wooded with thick underbrush and was almost unknown. General Meade at this time informed General Hancock that the original plan of striking for the Southside Railroad was abandoned on account of the time already consumed, being practicable only in case it could be reached, or a position near it, on the 27th; and that Crawford's division only of the Fifth Corps was on the south side of the run and was then moving through the woods on the east of the Boydton Road, with which he was to make connection with his right when it should come up to an alignment with him. The meaning of the substituted plan was, that if Hancock and Crawford could reach

the right of Lee's line and force the troops to abandon it, Parke and Warren would then be in position to move straight forward and occupy it, which would concentrate all the Federal forces for such further operations as the situation would then warrant. Having communicated with Crawford through Major Bingham, Hancock received from him a message to the effect that he expected to reach a point indicated upon the map very soon, and would from there extend his left until it reached the Second Corps.

The enemy continuing to show considerable activity upon the Boydton Road, Egan was directed to drive him across Hatchet's Run, which was done by a charge of Smythe's brigade. The Second Division was in line parallel with the run and near it, Willett's brigade upon the right, Smythe's in the centre, and Rugg's on the left. The enemy were still on the White Oak Road to the left, and soon a cavalry force reached the Plank Road in the rear, so that the corps was subject to a fire from three directions — from the front, left, and rear. The artillery on the north of the stream and the guns on the White Oak Road were served with accuracy and vigor causing considerable loss. At this time General Grant, accompanied by Colonel Babcock, rode to within a few yards of the bridge, exposed to the fire of sharp-shooters and two batteries, and from a personal examination of the stream, the Confederate line, and the character of the country, he decided at once that the movement should be abandoned and gave directions that the position should be held until morning when the troops were to be withdrawn.

As he was to remain during the day and night, General Hancock directed Egan to seize and hold the high ground beyond the run, and as firing had

been heard on the right, which was supposed to come from Crawford's advance, he sent General Pierce with two regiments into the woods in direction of the firing to discover its meaning. The Ninety-third New York was soon after sent to reinforce Pierce, and the First United States Sharpshooters were sent to the right and rear to connect with Crawford.

General Heth crossed the run with about five thousand men in the afternoon, and following an old wood road passed in between Crawford and Hancock and burst out on his right without a warning of any kind. Pierce's three regiments were instantly swept away, and in a few moments the right of the Confederate line was established on the Plank Road, and, facing to the south, at once opened fire. For a time the situation looked as threatening as that at Reams's Station after the angle had been stormed, but a different spirit pervaded the Second Corps. Unwittingly Heth had established his force between Mott on the south and Egan on the north. While the firing was going on between Heth and Mott, Egan quickly faced his division to the rear and struck the astonished Confederates at a charge, scattering and putting them to flight before they were fully aware whence this storm cloud had come. As the troops were nearly out of ammunition and General Gregg reported that the cavalry had only a few rounds left, it was decided to withdraw during the night, and the two divisions commenced to retire about ten o'clock, reaching the old camp the next day. The loss to the corps was nearly eighteen hundred men, about the same as that of the Confederates. The conduct of General Egan was rewarded with the brevet rank of a Major-General.

CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST WINTER AND APPOMATTOX

RETURNING from the Boydton Road the Twentieth went into Battery No. 11 as a support to the guns. On the 31st of October Captain A. B. Holmes returned and assumed command. Captain Kelliher reported for duty on November 25th, having been absent since June on account of the very serious wounds received in battle, but was unable to continue and was honorably discharged on the 5th of December. While in Battery No. 11, three men were killed and seven wounded.

On the 3d of November the regiment marched ten miles to the left, where, after making several changes in the location of its camp, it settled down for the winter near Fort Emory and commenced building log houses. There were then present eight officers and one hundred and twenty-five men. November 10th, First Lieutenant Edward B. Robins joined and was detailed as Adjutant. Subsequently he was appointed on the staff of General Macy at headquarters of the army.

The line of breastworks extended from the Appomattox to near Hatcher's Run, and the Second Corps held the extreme left. From the Appomattox the army of the James extended across the Bermuda front, and north of the James held a line running from the river across Chaffin's farm and then turning south until the right rested on the James near

Deep Bottom. It was forty miles in extent without a break in the fortifications, except where the two rivers flowed through them. Parallel with these, and at a distance of from one hundred yards to a mile, ran the Confederate lines, which were of much the same character as ours, though generally stronger, with many traverses and protected along the front in many places by double lines of abatis, with a fraise between them. North of the James the ground between the abatis was planted in places with torpedoes. The picket line in front was carefully intrenched, and, all that skill and labor could accomplish was done to make their position safe from attack.

The winter was a very severe one. The first snow fell on the 3d of December, and on the 10th, 29th, and 31st of the month the fall was from two to four inches. There were but few pleasant days and storms of rain and sleet were frequent. The ground was seldom in condition for drilling and there was a long season of enforced idleness.

The campaign being over for the present, there was time to balance up the accounts for the year, which was done in soldier fashion, and the result was, if not all that could be wished, of a character to enable every one to see that the end of the war was near at hand. The newspapers now arrived regularly at camp and every log hut had one or more each day, — with leisure enough to read them. A regular exchange between the Confederate pickets and our own was resumed, and, by reading the situation as depicted by the papers on either side, a pretty correct judgment of it could be formed. And not only in this way; for deserters, in greater numbers than ever before known, began

to come in almost nightly, and from their appearance, and the stories of suffering from want of food and clothing which they told, it was apparent that the Confederacy was tottering to its fall. Almost every day brought news that made the sky look brighter to us and more cloudy to the enemy. The destruction of Hood's army at Nashville by Thomas was celebrated by firing a hundred shotted guns from the forts, and, when word came that Sherman had burst through to the sea at Savannah, the men were wild with delight. The capture of Fort Fisher, with the fall of Charleston following closely after, gave such additional evidence of waning power that the men began to forecast the day when their services would no longer be required. Then came the return of the Sixth Corps and these oft-tried troops, who had finished their work in the Valley so thoroughly that Northern raids were no longer to be thought of, were welcomed back with the cordiality and enthusiasm known only to soldiers. When Sheridan and his ten thousand horsemen were again on the left flank of the army the cup of satisfaction was full. The revival of the military spirit, which for a while was low indeed, was almost magical. The veterans again lifted themselves to their full height, and such was the confidence and determination displayed by them that conscripts and hirelings were animated by it and the Army of the Potomac was itself again.

It having been reported that the enemy was hauling supplies from North Carolina over the Boydton Road with long wagon trains, General Gregg was ordered out to intercept them. The Fifth Corps was sent half way to Dinwiddie Court House, to be near for support in case of need. On

the 5th of February the Twentieth moved with the Second Corps across Hatcher's Run and advanced far enough to connect on the right of the Fifth. General Warren had a sharp conflict with forces sent against him, in which he lost 1165 killed and wounded and 154 prisoners. The enemy's losses were equally heavy, and General Pegram, a very brilliant Confederate officer, was killed. The Second Corps was only slightly engaged, losing 138. The Twentieth lost 1 killed, 6 wounded, and 5 missing. This movement resulted in the extension of our lines to Hatcher's Run at the point where the Vaughan Road crossed it.

At the approach of spring, General Grant's chief anxiety was lest General Lee should withdraw his army from Petersburg before he was ready to strike at it. That Lee would not be able to withstand an attack, even behind his strong intrenchments, was the universal belief. This, too, was the view of the Confederate leader himself. He had represented his insecure situation to Mr. Davis with all frankness and had advised the latter to make terms with the Federal Government at a time when he had an unbroken army at his command; but Mr. Davis would not entertain the thought. He was not entirely blind to the dangers that were threatening on every side, but, like others at the head of a revolution in dire distress, while not unmindful of the general interest, he could not entirely separate his own from it. He had been one of the foremost in bringing on the conflict and to ask for terms of peace would be a confession that he had misled his people into a war which had brought them to ruin, and the future presented nothing brighter to him than the prospect of passing the

remainder of his life amidst the desolation and misery that his leadership had caused. Looking through history for situations parallel to his own for guidance, he unhappily fell upon that of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, whom he thought to have suffered in the estimation of mankind for having left his country when there were still thirty thousand men in arms to defend his cause, and he resolved that it should not be said of him that he consented to drop the Confederate flag as long as he could find any one to uphold it. He agreed with General Lee that it was necessary to abandon the Confederate capital and that the evacuation should be commenced as soon as the roads were in condition to render the withdrawal of the army practicable.

Before such a movement could be commenced it was necessary to establish depots of provisions along the projected route of retreat, and, while preparations were going on to enable him to slip away, General Lee resolved upon making one desperate attempt to throw the Federal army back far enough to make his retreat easy and practicable. With this in view, he summoned General Gordon to headquarters, and, after making known to him the real situation in which they were placed, requested him to take time to make a careful examination of the Union lines and select the place that appeared to him the most feasible to assault. This General Gordon did, and informed Lee that Fort Stedman was the point he proposed to attack, and gave the details of his intentions. General Lee gave his approval and placed one half the army under Gordon's command to carry out the plan.

Before daylight on the morning of the 25th of March Gordon got possession of Fort Stedman, and

captured parts of the line on the right and left of it; but he soon learned the difference between assaulting and defending a fortified position. The men of the Ninth Corps quickly learned of what had taken place, and came hurrying from the right and left and formed a line about the captured fort. When daylight was near they rushed with the bayonet upon the enemy and drove the Confederates back to their own lines. Gordon lost 2681 men including many prisoners. The Ninth Corps lost 75 killed and 419 wounded.

President Lincoln was at this time visiting General Grant at City Point, and, when news of the assault was received, they rode to the front, and from the high ground by the Dunn House witnessed the onward rush of Hartranft's division up the hill and into the fort. A review had been planned for the President to take place on the 25th, but he declared that he had seen something better than a dozen reviews.

When Humphreys and Wright, many miles away, heard the noise of battle on their right, each at once divined what it meant, and, putting the troops under arms, made an assault upon the enemy's intrenched picket line, capturing it with 905 prisoners. Lee lost 4000 men on the 25th, and Meade less than half as many. Some reënforcements were sent to the aid of the Ninth Corps by General Humphreys, and the Twentieth marched near to Fort Stedman, but the action was over before it got far and all were in camp again by evening.

General Grant's anxiety lest General Lee should escape would not permit a long delay, and, in accordance with orders previously received, General Ord, who had succeeded Butler in command of

the Army of the James, withdrew three infantry divisions from the lines, and at dark on the evening of the 27th, with McKenzie's cavalry, began a march of thirty-six miles, which was so well conducted that without the knowledge of the enemy the whole force was south of Petersburg on the evening of the 28th, and before morning the Second Corps had been relieved by a part of it. It was not until April 2 that information of Ord's movement was gained by the enemy. When the Army of the James was well on its way, General Grant sent his order to Sheridan to enter upon the last phase of the campaign which had commenced on the 3d of May, 1864, and move his cavalry at an early hour on the morning of the 29th by way of Dinwiddie Court House, and strike the flank of the Confederate Army. Humphreys, who had succeeded Hancock in command of the Second Corps, at the same hour crossed Hatcher's Run on the Vaughan Road and turned to the north with his right resting on the run. Warren crossed three miles lower down and then turned to the north and came up into position on the left of the Second Corps. When the two corps were united, and commenced moving toward the enemy, Warren struck a part of Anderson's division on the Quaker Road and drove it back, taking two hundred prisoners near the steam mill. The enemy, leaving his killed and wounded, made a hasty retreat behind the intrenchments on the White Oak Road. The Second Corps kept in line with the Fifth as the two advanced, and by night had accomplished all that was expected during the first day's operations. The Fifth Corps lost 367 killed and wounded, but the Second, meeting with only a trifling opposition, met with no

loss. Sheridan was at Dinwiddie Court House, with one division under Devin's very near Five Forks.

General Lee soon perceived that the campaign had commenced, and, to meet the movements under way, ordered General Pickett with his own and Johnson's division to take possession of Five Forks, and placed Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry under his command. Pickett, with about twelve thousand fighting men, was now some five or six miles west and south from the main Confederate lines and charged with the duty of protecting the right flank from being turned.

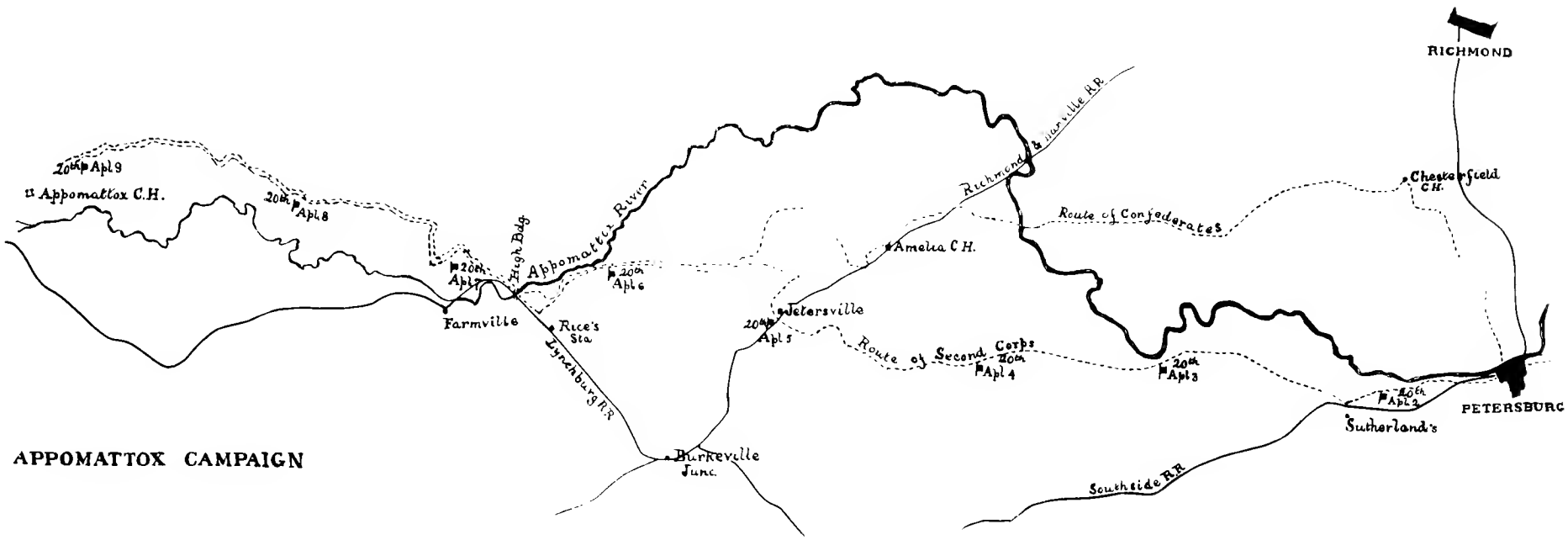
It rained furiously during the night of the 29th, and throughout the 30th. The roads were rendered impassable, and orders were sent for the troops to hold their positions on the 31st and make no forward movement. General Warren, however, made a reconnoissance towards the White Oak Road and was attacked vigorously and driven back to the position held in the morning. General Humphreys sent Miles with two brigades in the direction from which the sound of the firing came; he struck the enemy on the left, captured over three hundred prisoners, and drove them back to their intrenchments. General Mott made an unsuccessful attempt to carry the intrenchments covering the crossing of Hatcher's Run on the Boydton Road, and General Hays failed at the same time to storm the redoubt at the Crow house. General Warren lost 1406 and General Humphreys 374 during the day.

There was much fighting on the 31st between Sheridan and Pickett's forces, and, at night, Sheridan had been driven back to Dinwiddie Court House and held a line just in front of it. Fearing

that the cavalry would not be able to hold its position, Warren was ordered during the night to send a division to Sheridan, and later his corps was placed under Sheridan's command.

Pickett, having withdrawn during the night and taken up a fortified line about Five Forks, Sheridan advanced his cavalry and with the Fifth Corps gained on the 1st of April the battle of Five Forks, which resulted in the capture of over two thousand prisoners and the throwing of the whole of Pickett's disorganized and shattered battalions off to the west and separating them from the rest of Lee's army. At daylight on the 2d of April Ord, Wright, and Park broke through the enemy's main defenses around Petersburg, which resulted in the retreat of the Confederate Army. At daylight on the third, Petersburg was occupied, and soon after the news came that General Charles Devens's division was in possession of the Confederate capital. Every one now saw how the great campaign had progressed, slowly it is true, but surely, step by step, until at length the goal was about to be reached. During the second the left wing of the army had reached the Appomattox near Sutherland Station and there was only one avenue for Lee to follow. He was obliged to pass over the bridges that enter Petersburg, and the night was not long enough for all his forces and the vast trains of such an army to reach the northern banks of the Appomattox. When General Grant entered the city he saw thousands crowding the streets near the bridges, and, such was their hopeless and helpless situation, that he would not permit the artillery already in position to open fire upon them.

Instead of making a direct pursuit of the fleeing



APPOMATTOX CAMPAIGN

enemy, General Grant, with a correct judgment, ordered the various corps to follow the south bank of the river with the view of getting in front of the Confederate Army and compelling its surrender. Instructions were sent to Meade and Sheridan to press forward along the Danville Railroad in hope of heading Lee off at Amelia Court House, toward which place Grant felt sure the Confederate Army was marching. Though some of the troops were out of rations, such was the enthusiasm and eagerness of the men for pursuit, that hunger was unthought of and on they went, trusting to sustain life by foraging, in case the supply trains could not overtake them. The Fifth Corps was at Sutherland Station, ten miles west of Petersburg, and the cavalry far beyond in pursuit of the remnants of Pickett's command. Lee was at first obliged to move nearly ten miles north to Chesterfield Court House to meet the troops from the Bermuda front and those coming from the north bank of the James, from which place he turned to the left and took the roads leading to Amelia Court House, where he expected to receive the supplies that he had ordered there. Upon his arrival on the morning of the fourth, it was learned that the train loaded with rations had been ordered to Richmond, and he was obliged to remain until the evening of the fifth for the purpose of sending out foraging parties through the country for food. On the morning of the fifth the cavalry ran into a wagon train near Paine's cross-roads, destroyed one hundred and eighty wagons and captured five pieces of artillery and some prisoners.

The Army of the Potomac was concentrated at Jetersville, seven miles southwest of the court

house, and, on the morning of the sixth, marched forward towards Amelia Court House in expectation of attacking the enemy at or near that place. Lee, having heard that Meade was planted across his path at Jetersville, set out on the night of the fifth by more northerly routes, with the hope of reaching Farmville, and, after crossing the Appomattox, of pushing on to Lynchburg, destroying the bridges behind him. On the morning of the sixth Ord was directed to move from Burkesville Junction to Farmville, and, after the discovery of the escape of Lee, Meade was ordered to follow directly in his rear, — the Fifth Corps on the right, the Second in the centre, and the Sixth upon the left. Lee's straggling columns were now being closely pressed from every direction and a running fight was kept up all the way. The cavalry was following along the left flank of the enemy, impeding his progress, with a sharp outlook for the trains, into which they dashed just south of Sailor's Creek, destroying four hundred wagons, capturing twelve guns, and taking many prisoners. At the same time the Second Corps was so close upon Gordon's column that he was obliged to make a stand near Perkinson's Mills, where he was routed with a loss of thirteen flags, four guns, and seventeen hundred prisoners. The Sixth Corps to the left attacked Ewell and Anderson on the north side of Sailor's Creek, and, with the assistance of the cavalry, captured Ewell with his entire corps, except two hundred and fifty men of Kershaw's division, and about half of Anderson's command. The total loss of the enemy on the sixth was ten thousand men. The killed and wounded of the Second Corps amounted to 311, and of the Sixth Corps 442.

During the night the Confederate Army crossed the Appomattox, moved on to Farmville, where it procured rations, and again took up its march to Appomattox Station. While halting upon the north side of the river a conference of all the chief officers, except General Lee, was held, at which the situation was discussed and the conclusion formed that the time had come for the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. General Pendleton was selected to inform General Lee of the result of the conference. General Longstreet was present and simply said that if General Lee did not know when to give up the contest he would never learn it from him, and walked away. General Lee expressed no opinion of this extraordinary council, except to say that he did not think that he was as yet reduced to such an extremity.

The Second Corps resumed the pursuit at half past five on the morning of the seventh, and got up just in season to save the bridge over the Appomattox. It was the handsome work of the Second and Sixth Corps at Sailor's Creek that enabled Sheridan and Ord, with the cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and the Army of the James, to bring Lee to a final halt at Appomattox Court House. At the same hour the following day the corps was on the march and did not halt, except for short rests, until evening. The correspondence between Grant and Lee, which commenced on the seventh, passed through the Second Corps, and General Charles A. Whittier, of Humphreys' staff, one of the original officers of the Twentieth, was the bearer of all the letters, except two, that passed between them.

At half past ten on the morning of the ninth General Humphreys came up against Longstreet's

corps, when he received a verbal message from General Lee requesting him not to press forward, as negotiations for a surrender were going on; but, without authority from his superior officers, he did not feel justified in complying and so informed General Lee. The troops were drawn up in line ready to attack, when General Meade came up and granted an hour's truce. This truce was never broken. The last gun had been fired between the men of the Second Corps and the men of the Army of Northern Virginia. At half past four in the afternoon official notice was given to the Army of the Potomac that its great opponent had surrendered. Preparations were being made to celebrate the event by firing a salute of one hundred guns, when General Grant, dropping the rôle of soldier to assume that of a statesman, immediately prohibited it. He did not wish that the brave men who were again to become our fellow citizens should carry away from Appomattox the memory of shouts of triumph over the fall of such peerless valor.

This is, doubtless, the only instance in the history of war where one large army pursuing another large army has succeeded in getting in front and compelling it to surrender.

From the 1st of April until the 9th the losses of the army had been 9942, and in the Second Corps there were 1394 killed and wounded and 630 missing.

The Twentieth returned to Burkesville Junction on the 19th of April. At this place, Captain Spencer and First Lieutenants Pease, Post, and Shea, discharged prisoners, returned and were put on duty. By easy stages the Twentieth resumed its homeward march. At Richmond, all troops

on duty there turned out to receive the army as it marched through. The route took us past Libby Prison, Castle Thunder and Capitol Square, where General Halleck, then in command of the Department of Virginia, had his reviewing stand. Our line of march took us again through Fredericksburg, which we had twice seen before under less pleasing auspices, and on the 13th of May we went into camp near Washington. The 23d was the day of the Grand Review. On the 28th, Surgeon McGregor reported and was mustered. On the 29th Lieutenant-Colonel Curtis resigned and went home. On June 23d, five officers and two hundred and eighteen men joined by transfer from the Thirty-Seventh Massachusetts, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lincoln of this regiment, being the senior officer, assumed command. The Twentieth left Washington on July 17, and arrived at Readville in Massachusetts on the 20th, with seventeen officers and three hundred and eighty men. On the 28th of July, having been paid, the Twentieth was mustered out, having been in the service four years and ten days, in which time eighteen commissioned officers were killed and thirty-seven wounded, two hundred and sixty-nine enlisted men were killed and six hundred and forty-one wounded. The number lost as prisoners was two hundred and forty-two. The above figures are taken from the official returns, but as the regimental books were lost in 1864 and several reports are missing, it is certain that many more names should be added. There were nearly two thousand Union regiments, and among the five that suffered the heaviest losses in battle during the Civil War is enrolled the name of the Twentieth Massachusetts.

ROSTER

ROSTER

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS. M.=Mustered out; D.=Discharged; D. f. d.=Discharged for disability; D. ex. t.=Discharged at expiration of term of service; Dism.=Dismissed; R.=Resigned; Pr.=Promoted; D. o. w.=Died of wounds; K.=Killed; Tr.=Transferred.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

NAME AND RANK	AGE	TOWN CREDITED TO	COMMISSIONED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
Colonels				
William R. Lee	54	Roxbury	July 1, '61	R. Dec. 17, '62
Francis W. Palfrey	30	Boston	Dec. 18, '62	D. f. d. April 13, '63
Paul J. Revere		Boston	April 14, '63	D. o. w. July 5, '63
George N. Macy		Nantucket	July 5, '63	M. July 16, '65
Lieut.-Colonels				
Francis W. Palfrey		Boston	July 1, '61	Pr. Col. Dec. 18, '62
Ferdinand Dreher		Boston	Dec. 18, '62	D. o. w. May 1, '63
George N. Macy		Nantucket	May 1, '63	Pr. Col. July 5, '63
Arthur R. Curtis		Boston	June 20, '64	R. May 29, '65
Majors				
Paul J. Revere	28	Boston	July 1, '61	Pr. Lt.-Col. Apr. 14, '63
Ferdinand Dreher		Boston	Sept. 5, '62	Pr. Lt.-Col. Dec. 18, '62
George N. Macy		Nantucket	Dec. 18, '62	Pr. Lt.-Col. May 1, '63
Allen Shepard		Boston	May 1, '63	Tr. to V. R. C. Aug. 30, '63
Henry L. Abbott		Lowell	May 1, '63	K. May 6, '64
Arthur R. Curtis		Boston	May 7, '64	Pr. Lt.-Col. June 20, '64
Henry L. Patten		Cambridge	June 20, '64	D. o. w. Sept. 10, '64
John Kelliher		Bridgewater	Dec. 3, '64	M. July 16, '65
Surgeons				
Henry Bryant	41	Boston	July 1, '61	Pr. Brigade Surgeon, Sept. 19, '61
Nathan Hayward		Roxbury	Sept. 10, '61	D. ex. t. Sept. 10, '64
Frederick W. Mercer	26	Boston	Dec. 16, '64	R. April 14, '65
Murdock McGregor	36	Boston	May 26, '65	M. July 16, '65.
Asst. Surgeons				
Nathan Hayward	31	Roxbury	July 1, '61	Pr. Sur. Sept. 10, '61
Edward H. R. Revere		Boston	Sept. 10, '61	K. Sept. 17, '62
Benjamin F. Taft		Blackstone	Aug. 22, '62	Tr. to 19th Mass. Jan. 17, '63

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, *continued*

NAME AND RANK	AGE	TOWN CREDITED TO	COMMISSIONED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
Asst. Surgeons, continued				
John G. Perry	23	Boston	Mar. 18, '63	D. Aug. 10, '64
George R. Dinsmore		Keene, N. H.	Mar. 31, '65	M. July 16, '65
Captains				
Henry M. Tremlett	28	Dorchester	July 10, '61	Maj. of 39th Mass. Aug. 28, '62
John Herchenroder	31	Boston	July 10, '61	R. Nov. 7, '61
Ferdinand Dreher	39	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. Maj. Sept. 5, '62
Caspar Crowinshield	23	Brookline	July 10, '61	Tr. to 1st Mass. Cav. Nov. 25, '61
George A. Schmitt	34	Cambridge	July 10, '61	Tr. to V. R. C. July 22, '63
Edmund A. Walleston	24	Boston	July 10, '61	R. Nov. 9, '61
Henry J. Sweeny	26	Boston	July 10, '61	R. Oct. 3, '61
John C. Putnam	26	Boston	July 10, '61	D. f. d. Sept. 8, '63
William F. Bartlett	21	Winthrop	July 10, '61	Col. of 49th Mass. Nov. 12, '62
Allen Shepard	42	Boston	July 10, '61	Tr. to V. R. C. Aug. 29, '63
Alois Babo		Boston	Oct. 12, '61	K. Oct. 21, '61
Allen W. Beckwith		Boston	Oct. 22, '61	R. Mar. 22, '62
George N. Macy		Nantucket	Nov. 8, '61	Pr. Maj. Dec. 18, '62
Charles F. Cabot		Boston	Nov. 10, '61	K. Dec. 11, '62
Norwood P. Hallowell		Cambridge	Nov. 26, '61	Lt.-Col. of 54th Mass. April 11, '63
Oliver W. Holmes, Jr.		Boston	Mar. 23, '62	D. July 17, '64
Henry L. Abbott		Lowell	Aug. 29, '62	Pr. Maj. May 1, '63
Charles L. Tilden		Boston	Sept. 5, '62	D. f. d. Jan. 5, '63
Charles A. Whittier		Boston	Nov. 12, '62	Maj. and A. D. C. April 28, '63
Arthur R. Curtis		Boston	Dec. 14, '62	Pr. Maj. May 7, '64
James Murphy		Roxbury	Dec. 18, '62	D. f. d. Aug. 28, '63
Herbert C. Mason		Boston	Jan. 6, '63	D. f. d. Mar. 23, '64
William R. Riddle		Boston	April 12, '63	Tr. to V. R. C.
William F. Perkins		Boston	April 12, '63	D. Nov. 4 '64
Henry L. Patten		Cambridge	May 1, '63	Pr. Maj. June 20, '64
John W. Summerhayes		Nantucket	May 1, '63	D. June 6, '65
Thomas M. McKay		Boston	July 23, '63	Assassinated, Oct. 6, '63
William H. Walker		S. Reading	Aug. 29, '63	R. April 26, '64
John Kelliher		Bridgewater	Sept. 9, '63	Pr. Maj. Dec. 3, '64
Albert B. Holmes		Nantucket	Mar. 21, '64	M. July 16, '65
James H. Spencer		Taunton	April 27, '64	M. July 16, '65
Henry W. Mali, Jr.		Stockbridge	May 7, '64	D. May 20, '65
Benjamin B. Pease		Nantucket	June 1, '65	R. June 26, '65
Gustave Magnitzky		Boston	June 20, '64	M. July 16, '65
First Lieutenants				
Charles L. Peirson (Adjt.)	27	Salem	July 1, '61	Lt.-Col. 39th Mass. Aug. 30, '62

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, *continued*

NAME AND RANK	AGE	TOWN CREDITED TO	COMMISSIONED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
Charles W. Folsom (Q. M.)	35	Cambridge	July 1, '61	Pr. Cap. = Q. M. U. S. Vols. Mar. 16, '65
Oliver W. Holmes, Jr.	20	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Mar. 23, '62
John W Le Barnes	33	Sheffield	July 10, '61	R. Mar. 26, '62
Alois Babo	30	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Oct. 12, '61
George B. Perry	21	Boston	July 10, '61	D. f. d. Sept. 30, '62
James J. Lowell	23	Cambridge	July 10, '61	K. July 6, '62
Charles F. Cabot	24	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Nov. 10, '61
Henry Capen	21	Boston	July 10, '61	R. Oct. 8, '61
Norwood P. Hallowell	22	Cambridge	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Nov. 26, '61
George N. Macy	23	Nantucket	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Nov. 8, '61
Allen W. Beckwith	38	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. Cap. Oct. 22, '61
Charles L. Tilden		Boston	Oct. 9, '61	Pr. Cap. Sept. 5, '62
William F. Milton		Boston	Oct. 12, '61	M. July 16, '65
Henry L. Abbott		Lowell	Nov. 8, '61	Pr. Cap. Aug. 29, '62
Henry H. Sturgis		Boston	Nov. 10, '61	R. July 7, '62
Charles A. Whittier		Boston	Nov. 26, '61	Pr. Cap. Nov. 12, '62
August Müller		Boston	Mar. 23, '62	Dism. May 15, '63
Henry F. Sanders		Boston	July 7, '62	D. f. d. Mar. 20, '63
Herbert C. Mason		Boston	July 8, '62	Pr. Cap. Jan. 6, '63
James Murphy		Roxbury	Aug. 29, '62	Pr. Cap. Dec. 8, '62
William R. Riddle		Boston	Sept. 5, '62	D. Aug. 12, '63
Henry L. Patten		Cambridge	Oct. 1, '62	Pr. Cap. May 1, '63
Henry Ropes		Boston	Oct. 2, '62	K. July 3, '63
Edward N. Hallowell		Medford	Nov. 12, '62	Cap. of 54th Mass. Mar. 6, '63
William F. Perkins		Boston	Dec. 14, '62	Pr. Cap. April 12, '63
Thomas M. McKay		Boston	Dec. 18, '62	Pr. Cap. July 23, '63
Henry E. Wilkins		Boston	Jan. 6, '63	D. June 15, '63
William H. Walker		Boston	Mar. 20, '63	Pr. Cap. Aug. 29, '63
John W. Summerhayes		Nantucket	April 12, '63	Pr. Cap. May 1, '63
Charles Cowgill		Dover, Del.	May 16, '63	R. Mar. 9, '64
John Kelliher		Bridgewater	May 16, '63	Pr. Cap. Sept. 9, '63
Lansing E. Hibbard		Falmouth	June 16, '63	K. May 10, '64
Albert B. Holmes		Nantucket	July 18, '63	Pr. Cap. Mar. 21, '64
James W. R. Holland		Mansfield	July 22, '63	D. f. d. July 26, '64
Daniel Griffin		Boston	July 22, '63	R. June 9, '64
James H. Spencer		Taunton	Sept. 9, '63	Pr. Cap. Apr. 27, '64
Thomas S. Milton	20	Roxbury	Jan. 4, '64	Dism. the service July 11, '64
Nathan B. Ellis	29	Framingham	Jan. 5, '64	D. f. d. July 29, '64
Edward Sturgis	18	New York	Feb. 9, '64	K. May 10, '64
Dennis Shea		Milford	Mar. 4, '64	M. July 16, '65
Henry W. Mali, Jr.		Stockbridge	Mar. 8, '64	Pr. Cap. May 7, '64
Gustave Magnitzky		Boston	Mar. 21, '64	Pr. Cap. June 20, '64
Benjamin B. Pease		Nantucket	May 18, '64	Pr. Cap. June 1, '65
Charles Rost (Q. M.)		Worcester	June 1, '64	M. July 16, '65
Charles H. Baker (Q.M.)		Nantucket	July 1, '64	D. June 2, '65
Arthur G. Sedgwick	20	Stockbridge	July 3, '64	D. f. d. Feb. 3, '65

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, *continued*

NAME AND RANK	AGE	TOWN CREDITED TO	COMMISSIONED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
First Lieutenants, con.				
Edward B. Robins	19	Boston	July 30, '64	M. July 16, '65
George W. Leach		Boston	Nov. 15, '64	R. June 20, '65
Charles A. Rand	21	Boston	Dec. 2, '64	M. July 16, '65
George A. Packwood		Boston	Dec. 2, '64	M. July 16, '65
Second Lieutenants				
Charles A. Whittier	21	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Nov. 26, '61
August Müller	31	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Mar. 23, '62
Reinhold Wesselhoeft	25	Dorchester	July 10, '61	Drowned Oct. 21, '61
Nathaniel T. Messer	23	Boston	July 10, '61	D. f. d. Sept. 8, '63
William L. Putnam	21	Boston	July 10, '61	D. o. w. Oct. 22, '61
Charles O. Day	22	Boston	July 10, '61	R. Oct. 8, '61
William F. Milton	24	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Oct. 12, '61
Henry H. Sturgis	23	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Nov. 10, '61
Henry L. Abbott	19	Lowell	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Nov. 8, '61
Charles L. Tilden	19	Boston	July 10, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Oct. 9, '61
William R. Riddle		Boston	Oct. 9, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Sept. 5, '62
James Murphy		Roxbury	Nov. 8, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Aug. 29, '62
Herbert C. Mason	21	Boston	Nov. 25, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. July 8, '62
Henry L. Patten	28	Cambridge	Nov. 25, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Oct. 1, '62
Henry F. Sanders		Boston	Nov. 25, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. July 7, '62
Henry Ropes	22	Boston	Nov. 25, '61	Pr. 1st Lt. Oct. 2, '62
Edward N. Hallowell	20	Medford	Jan. 11, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. Nov.12, '62
William F Perkins	21	Boston	Jan. 16, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. Dec. 14, '62
Thomas J. Pousland		Beverly	April 12, '62	Dism. the service Mar. 20, '63
Anton Hirschauer		Boston	April 12, '62	D. f. d. Oct. 10, '62
Robert S. Beckwith		Boston	July 7, '62	D. o. w. Dec. 31, '62
Leander F. Alley		Nantucket	Aug. 29, '62	K. Dec. 13, '62
Thomas M. McKay		Boston	Sept. 5, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. Dec. 18, '62
Samuel Willard		Boston	Oct. 1, '62	Captain of 54th Mass. Apr. 14, '63

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, *continued*

NAME AND RANK	AGE	TOWN CREDITED TO	COMMISSIONED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
Second Lieutenants, con.				
William H. Walker			Oct. 2, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. Mar. 20, '63
Lansing E. Hibbard		Pittsfield	Nov. 12, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. June 16, '63
Charles Cowgill		Dover, Del.	Dec. 14, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. May 16, '63
John Kelliher		Bridgewater	Dec. 14, '62	Pr. 1st Lt. May 16, '63
John W. Summerhayes		Nantucket	Mar. 14, '63	Pr. 1st Lt. April 12, '63
Sumner Paine	18	Boston	April 23, '63	K. July 3, '63
Benjamin B. Pease		Nantucket	April 29, '64	Pr. 1st Lt. May 18, '64
George W. Leach		Boston	Dec. 30, '63	Pr. 1st Lt. Nov. 5, '64
George H. Packwood	20	New York	Jan. 31, '65	Pr. 1st L. June 1, '65

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

First Lieutenants

Henry S. Benson	M. July 16, '65
Henry W. Bond	D. o. w. Mar. 14, '64
George T. Chase	M. July 16, '65
Clement C. Moore	M. July 16, '65

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Captain James May	D. Mar. 11, '65

First Lieutenants

Carleton M. Deland	M. July 16, '65
George O. Wilder	D. May 5, '65

TRANSFERRED FROM THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JUNE 21, 1865

Lieut.-Colonel Rufus P. Lincoln
Major Mason W. Tyler
Surgeon Elisha M. White
Asst. Surgeon Charles E. Inches
Captain George N. Jones
Captain Walter B. Smith
First Lieutenant William J. Coulter
First Lieutenant James O'Conner
First Lieutenant Flavel R. Sheldon
First Lieutenant William A. Waterman
Second Lieutenant Joseph F. Bartlett

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF

NAME AND RANK	AGE.	RESIDENCE OR TOWN CREDITED TO	MUSTERED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
Sergeant-Majors				
Sylvanus R. Harlow	21	Waltham	Aug. 24, '61	D. f. d. Nov. 21, '62
George E. Tower	29	Stoughton	Aug. 31, '61	M. July 16, '65
Robert S. Beckwith	21		June 22, '62	Pr. 2d Lt. July 7, '62
Benjamin H. Whitford	33	Nantucket	Sept. 10, '62	D. No further record
William N. Walker	20		Sept. 17, '62	D. f. d. Jan. 31, '63
Charles H. Robinson	22	Reading	Oct. 1, '62	Red. to ranks Jan. 1, '63. M. Aug. 1, '64
John W. Summerhayes		Nantucket	Jan. 1, '63	Pr. 2d Lt. Mar. 14, '63
Heinrich Marks		Boston	Mar. 31, '63	Deserted May 3, '63
George W. Leach		Boston	May 24, '63	Pr. 2d Lt. Dec. 30, '63
Q. M. Sergeants				
Henry F Sanders	24	Boston	July 26, '61	Pr. 2d Lt. Nov. 21, '61
Charles H. Baker	18	Nantucket	Nov. 26, '61	Pr. 1st Lieut. July 1, '64
Patrick Lanergan		Boston	Nov. 11, '64	M. July 16, '65
Com. Sergeants				
Charles B. Tower	32		July 26, '61	D. f. d. Mar. 5, '63
Edward Hennessey	23	Boston	Aug. 24, '61	D. f. d. Sept. 14, '61
Jacob Bender		Boston	Mar. 6, '63	M. July 16, '65
Hospital Stewards				
Joseph Honnard	34	Boston	July 26, '61	D. f. d. Nov. 1, '61
George Gray		Waltham	Jan. 1, '64	M. July 16, '65
Principal Musician				
David S. Thompson		Chilmark	April 10, '63	Tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 1, '63
Joseph Lovejoy		Lowell	Sept. 1, '63	M. July 16, '65

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Commissary Sergeant George W. Faulkner D. Sept. 7, '64

TRANSFERRED FROM THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JUNE 21, 1865

Sergeant Major John W Nye

BAND

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	MUSTERED	TERMINATION OF SERVICE
John F. Gibbs, (Leader)	22		Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
James W. Allen	25	E. Bridge-water	Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Alden Bass	25	Abington	Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Charles M. Bent	23	Boston	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Adolph Cellarius	24	Roxbury	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Theodore Cellarius	24	Roxbury	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
George E. Clark	33	Milton	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
William A. Fairbanks	22	Abington	Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Alonzo T. Foster	32	Abington	Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Nathan R. Giles		Cambridge	Sept. 9, '61	D. Mar. 26, '62 O. W. D.
James S. Gurney	42	Abington	Sept. 24, '61	D. Mar. 26, '62 O. W. D.
Mansfield P. Hatch	27	Salisbury	Sept. 14, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
John B. Haynes	24	Boston	Sept. 9, '61	D. Mar. 26, '62 O. W D.
Charles A. Kirby	24	Boston	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Richard P Leonard	29	Boston	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Isaac Lincoln	20	E. Bridge-water	Sept. 22, '61	D. Dec. 19, '61 O. W. D.
Roderick McKay	23	Boston	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
Albert F. Merrill	21	Walpole	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
George S. Reiser	19		Sept. 11, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62 Absent, missing
George L. Richards	22	Roxbury	Sept. 9, '61	D. Mar. 26, '62 O. W. D.
Frank B. Sawtelle	25		Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62
James W. Smith	21		Aug. 8, '61	Tr. to Co. A.
Charles H. Thompson	24		Sept. 14, '61	D. f. d. Dec. 14, '61
James B. Wildes	21	Georgetown	Sept. 9, '61	M. Aug. 8, '62

NOTE. The following Roster gives successively the name, age at enlistment, residence, date of muster, and termination of service.

COMPANY A.

Sergeants

Battles, Otis L., 28, Plymouth, Aug. 15, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 20, '62.
Bradley, Aaron, 23, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, d. at ex. of term Aug. 26, '64.
Cate, George F., 18, Roxbury, Aug. 26, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Clarke, George S., 21, Hinsdale, Aug. 31, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 31, '64.
Fuchs, William, 26, Roxbury, transferred from Co. C., m. July 16, '65.
Hibbard, Lansing E., 21, Pittsfield, Aug. 31, '61, pr. 2d L. Nov. 12, '62.
Merchant, John, 31, Pittsfield, Aug. 8, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Newkirk, Peter, 31, Boston, Aug. 26, '62, k. Oct. 29, '64.
Smith, Henry J., 23, Salem, Aug. 15, '61, tr. to Co. E.
Tower, George E., 29, Stoughton, Aug. 31, '61, pr. Sergt. Maj. Jan. 9, '65.

Corporals

Blackwell, James L., 18, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 30, '62.
Bumpus, David R., 29, Wareham, Aug. 15, '61, dishonorably d. Mar. 8, '63.
Davenport, James B., 18, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 14, '64.
Grose, John D., 21, S. Scituate, Dec. 28, '61, d. ex. t. Dec. 20, '64.
Mahoney, Daniel, 21, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 22, '62.
Meade, Edwin B., 19, Lanesboro, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 14, '62.
Smith, Adelbert, 21, Walpole, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 3, '63.
Weston, Robert H., 23, Reading, Aug. 23, '61, died Jan. 13, '63, as private.

Musicians

Hall, Charles H., 16, Boston, Aug. 20, '61, d. June 30, '65.
Tuttle, John, 29, Boston, m. July 16, '65.

Wagoner

Going, Bradford, 37, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '62, m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Albers, Carl A. J., 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Allen, Frederick S., 25, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 31, '64.
Armstrong, William, 24, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, k. May 6, '64.

Babcock, William, 40, Hinsdale, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 28, '62.
Baker, William, 19, Boston, July 15, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Ball, Nehemiah F., 37, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, k. June 3, '64.
Bates, Oliver S., 20, Ellington, N. Y., Aug. 8, '61, died Aug. 19, '64.
Bauer, William, 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65, absent prisoner.
Beal, Bradford W., 31, Abington, Aug. 31, '61, d. o. w. May 28, '64.
Besse, Benjamin B., 18, Wareham, Jan. 17, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Besse, Joshua, 2d, 38, Wareham, Jan. 17, '62, tr. to Co. E.
Bishop, Alfred L., 18, Russell, Aug. 29, '61, deserted Aug. '62.
Blom, Henry N., 32, Boston, June 21, '64, d. f. d. Dec. 24, '64.
Bowman, Oliver H., 32, Randolph, Dec. 13, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 22, '63.
Brown, Abraham, 20, Cheshire, Aug. 31, '61, m. July 16, '65. Absent pris.
Brown, Alexander, 18, Ireland, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '62.
Brown, John, 21, Watertown, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Bumpus, Benjamin F., 36, Wareham, Aug. 1, '62, d. o. w. Jan. 17, '63.
Bumpus, George W., 26, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, deserted Aug. 17, '61.
Bumpus, Henry W., 27, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '61.
Bumpus, Martin A., 18, Harwich, Aug. 18, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '63.
Burgess, Thomas A., 44, Wareham, Dec. 9, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 1, '63.
Butler, Ephraim D., 34, Wareham, Dec. 16, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 19, '62.
Buxton, Frank, 18, Cambridge, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 13, '63.

Carroll, John J., 31, Wareham, Dec. 11, '61, died Dec. 14, '62.
Cavanaugh, James, 21, Ireland, Aug. 31, '61, d. o. w. Dec. 15, '62.
Chapin, Thomas, 20, Norwich, Ct., Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '62.
Chapman, David G., 34, Pittsfield, Nov. 11, '61, d. f. d. June 8, '63.
Clark, John, 25, Boston, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Cleary, John, 18, Lanesboro, Dec. 13, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Clifton, Benjamin D., 25, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Coburn, Henry J., 20, Greenfield, July 5, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Coon, Martin, 28, Stephenstown, Dec. 9, '61, d. ex. t. July 18, '64.
Cox, Patrick, 31, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 13, '62.
Curtis, George H., 33, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 14, '63.

Desmond, Michael, 21, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, d. Aug. 26, '64.
Devine, James, 27, Pittsfield, Dec. 19, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '62.
Dickinson, John K., 37, Dalton, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Aug. 7, '63.
Dowd, Philo H., 18, Monterey, Aug. 29, '61, died Nov. 13, '61.
Dresser, Edward E., 18, Stockbridge, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 12, '64.
Dwyer, Thomas, 34, Tipperary, Ireland, July 18, '61, k. June 1, '62.

Edson, John M., 18, Wareham, Aug. 25, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 21, '63.
Edson, William A., 39, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 27, '62.

Farrer, Leon, 26, Malden, Aug. 7, '63, died Oct. 18, '64.
Finn, William, 25, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, tr. to Co. C.
Fischer, John, 30, Boston, Mar. 29, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Fiske, N. A., 26, Cranston, R. I., Aug. 15, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 24, '61.
Flood, John, 31, Boston, Feb. 20, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C., Oct. 29, '64.
Ford, Daniel N., 26, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, d. Aug. 1, '64.
Ford, James, 35, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 16, '63.
Foster, George, 37, Chatham, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Fowler, James, 23, Colraine, July 18, '63, tr. to Co. C.
Francis, Jonathan, 19, Worcester, Aug. 8, '61, d. o. w. Dec. 13, '62.
Freeman, Charles, 21, Boston, July 29, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Fritsh, George, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. June 27, '65.

Gallagher, Edward, 17, Boston, Apr. 30, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Gammons, Samuel L., 44, Boston, Aug. 10, '61, d. f. d. May 2, '62.
Gartland, William, 39, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Gay, John S., 24, Pepperell, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. May 2, '62.
Getz, Jacob, 18, Boston, Aug, 30, '61, tr. to Co. B. Dec. 20, '63 as corporal.
Gibbon, William, 24, Truro, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Gleason, Michael, 35, Boston, May 4, '63, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 16, '63.
Glover, William, 25, Wareham, Aug. 8, '63, tr. to Co. C.
Goodrich, Amos B., 19, Dalton, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 1, '61.
Goodwin, Charles, 36, W. Stockbridge, Dec. 18, '61, k. May 6. '64.
Graham, John, 24, Boston, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Graves, Alphonso K., 29, Newport, N. H., Aug. 30, '61, died Dec. 3, '61.
Green, Thomas W., 30, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, tr. to V. R. C., Nov. 15, '63.
Greenwood, Horace, 24, Cambridge, July 22, '62, deserted Apr. 12, '64.

Haley, Jeremiah C., 28, Ireland, Aug. 10, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 9, '64.
Hammell, William, 27, Worcester, Aug. 5, '63, tr. to V. R. C.
Hanscom, Leander, 18, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, k. Aug. 24, '64.

Harlow, James A., 18, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Harrington, Leonard, 43, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, d. o. w. Mar. '64.
Harris, Abel T., 31, Wareham, Aug. 15, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 6, '64.
Hartford, George, 30, Wareham, Aug. 15, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 5, '63.
Hartford, Patrick, 38, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Hartford, Thomas, 26, Wareham, Aug. 10, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 15, '63.
Haskins, Thomas C., 37, Rochester, Aug. 10, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 6, '64.
Hassett, Michael, 34, Cambridge, Feb. 20, '62, tr. to Co. D. as sergeant.
Hathaway, Albert F., 20, Wareham, Feb. 20, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Hearty, Michael, 35, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 18, '65.
Heath, Benjamin F., 29, Sandisfield, Aug. 30, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Heath, Henry B., 18, Monterey, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 12, '62.
Hennesey, Michael, 22, Ashland, Mar. 4, '62, died Feb. 22, '65.
Hogan, Patrick, 27, Marion, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Homer, Charles N., 45, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, d. Dec. 11, '61.
Howard, George H., 35, Easton, Aug. 10, '61, deserted Aug. '63.

Johnson, William V. 28, England, Aug. 10, '61, d. f. d. May 2, '62.
Jones, George H., 19, Springfield, Aug. 31, '61, tr. to Co. G.

Keller, Frederick J., 26, Boston, May 23, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 26, '64.
Kelly, George F., 19, Pittsfield, Aug. 31, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Kelly, John, 25, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Aug. 25, '64.
Kelly, Thomas, 22, Ireland, Aug. 29, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Kendall, Thomas J., 20, Hinsdale, Aug. 29, '61, tr. to Co. E. Apr. 1, '62.
King, Edward R., 23, Charlemont, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '61.

Lamphrey, Ephraim, 40, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Lamson, Levi, Jr., 22, Stockbridge, Aug. 31, '61, d. June 30, '65, O. W D.
Lane, Daniel C., 34, Boston, Aug. 10, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 10, '64.
Lange, Carl, 40, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Langley, Andrew A., 25, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '61, died Oct. 14, '64.
Leines, Thomas D., 38, Quincy, Mar. 14, '64, d. May 15, '65.
Leiz, Paul, 26, Chelsea, Aug. 12, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Leland, Horace F., 21, Quincy, July 19, '62, deserted Aug. 18, '63.
Leonard, William L., 30, Wareham, Dec. 11, '61, d. f. d. May 28, '62.
Lewis, Arthur S., 28, Pittsfield, Nov. 20, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 20, '63.
Little, William C. S., 30, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 4, '63.
Loring, George H., 18, Wareham, Feb. 16, '64, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Dec. 10, '64.

McCarthy, William, 25, Boston, Oct. 8, '61, deserted Aug. 14, '62.
McDermott, Patrick, 28, Ireland, Aug. 29, '61, d. o. w. Jan. 4, '62.
McDonald, John, 22, Northampton, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.
McDuncan, John, 21, Concord, transferred to Navy April 27, '64.
McLean, Alexander, 25, Roxbury, Aug. 7, '63, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. '64.
Manley, Albert A., 36, Boston, Aug. 28, '62, k. May 13, '64.

Manley, John C., 30, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, m. Aug. 1, '65.
Marshall, George, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, Missing since June 3, '64.
Maxfield, Samuel, 41, Alford, Dec. 26, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 14, '62.
Meek, Samuel A., 19, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '63.
Miller, Henry, 25, Worcester, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Miller, James, 23, Boston, Feb. 26, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Milton, Charles, 19, Holliston, Apr. 6, '64, missing since June 3, '64.
Minamon, Nathan F., 32, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Mitchell, William, 37, Boston, Feb. 25, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Moeglin, Louis, 36, Germany, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '62.
Moran, Thomas, 23, Amherst, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Morrill, William, deserted July 2, '65.
Morrison, John, 42, Wareham, Aug. 18, '61, d. Dec. 16, '61.
Morrisey, John, 18, Boston, Aug. 27, '61, deserted Aug. 10, '62.
Morse, Abraham, 24, Boston, July 28, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Morse, James K., 18, Walcotville, Ct. Aug. 8, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. 28, '64.
Morse, Tilson A., 20, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.
Murphy, Daniel, 36, Ireland, Aug. 10, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 10, '64.
Murphy, James, 23, Bolton, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Natter, Edward, 18, Quincy, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Newell, Charles C., 22, Boston, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 1, '63.
Newton, Antipas, 42, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '62.
Nickerson, James T., 19, Wareham, Feb. 20, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Noble, James H., 31, Hartford, Ct., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 23, '63.
Noble, Wilbur, 26, Hartford, Ct., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 14, '62.

O'Connor, Patrick, 27, transferred from Co. F., m. Aug. 1, '64.
O'Grady, William, 18, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 1, '62.
Orcutt, John C., 30, Boston, Feb. 13, '62, m. July 16, '65.

Pahl, Albert, 26, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, d. May 16, '65, O. W. D.
Pinkan, Emil, 20, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Plant, George L., 37, Boston, Aug. 31, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Pommereoche, Julius, 27, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Quindland, John, 26, Dennis, Dec. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Randnitzky, Frederick, 37, Concord, Aug. 4, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Rarke, Henry, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Raymond, William H., 21, Holliston, Apr. 6, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Reed, John, 27, Pittsfield, Nov. 7, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 10, '63.
Rex, Frederick W., 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Richardson, Tyler, 21, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, k. May 6, '64.
Richeman, John, 39, Lawrence, Aug. 6, '63, m. July 15, '65. Absent prisoner.
Riorden, John, 21, Boston, transferred from Co. B., deserted July 5, '64.
Robbins, Cyrus, 20, Stoneham, Feb. 2, '65, died May 4, '65.
Robbins, George H., 28, Harwick, Aug. 18, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 21, '63.

Robbins, Parker P., 21, Plympton, Aug. 11, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 7, '63.
Robinson, Abram, 33, Gloucester, Aug. 7, '62, died Jan. 18, '63.
Rogers, John, 23, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 7, '63.
Rollins, Valentine P., 44, Chelmsford, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. May 8, '63.
Rowbotham, John, 30, Pennsylvania, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 24, '61.
Russell, Isaac, 33, Wareham, Dec. 12, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 7, '63.
Russell, James R., 24, Wareham, Aug. 8, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C., Dec. 17, '64.
Russell, John, 35, Dartmouth, June 30, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Russell, John, 22, Ashfield, July 18, '63, deserted Dec. 11, '63.
Russell, Stephen S., 18, Wareham, Aug. 15, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 15, '64.
Ryan, Joseph, 22, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.
Ryder, William, 24, Gloucester, Aug. 30, '61, d. July 16, '65.

Schmidt, Charles, 25, Middleton, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 20, '63.
Schoenherr, Gustavus, 21, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Searle, Dwight A., 21, Granville, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 1, '62.
Sexton, Edward C., 19, Stockbridge, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 31, '62.
Shanley, Thomas C., 28, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 15, '63.
Shaw, Herman H., 20, Cummington, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 20, '62.
Shields, Farrell, 22, Colrain, July 18, '63, tr. to Co. F.
Sloan, John A., 40, Pittsfield, Nov. 13, '61, died Oct. 8, '62.
Smith, James W., 21, transferred from Band, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Smith, John, 21, Greenfield, tr. to Navy, Apr. 17, '64.
Smith, Joseph, 19, Lynn, Aug. 29, '61, tr. to Co. E.
Smith, Thomas, 42, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.
Smith, William H., 18, Berlin, N. Y., Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 2, '62.
Snell, Joseph, 34, Wareham, Aug. 18, '61, tr. to Co. K.
Snell, William, 25, Wareham, Dec. 13, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 24, '63.
Somers, John, 30, Boston, Sept. 6, '62, d. at ex. t. July 16, '65.
Spear, Adrian, 22, Falmouth, June 11, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Spear, Marcus, 21, Lynn, Aug. 5, '63, tr. to Co. D.
Staples, Frank, 32, Belmont, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Jan. 4, '64.
Stevens, Edward K., 34, Wareham, Aug. 15, '61, d. f. d., Mar. 30, '63.
Stewart, Stephen B., 42, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Storer, Benjamin F., 39, Hiram, Me., Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 30, '62.
Strong, King, 44, Pittsfield, Nov. 11, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 30, '63.
Sullivan, James, 28, Stockbridge, Dec. 16, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 23, '65.
Sullivan, John J., 22, Barre, July 18, '63, deserted Sept. 15, '63.
Sweeney, John, 28, N. Andover, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Nov. 8, '63.
Swift, Julian W., 21, Wareham, Feb. 22, '64, d. o. w. Nov. 15, '64.

Talbot, John D., 22, Sharon, July 28, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 8, '62.
Thompson, David S., 44, Chilmark, Aug. 30, '62, promoted principal musician, N. C. S. Apr. 10, '63.
Thompson, James T., 18, Wareham, Feb. 20, '64, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 2, '65.
Tiernan, Thomas C., 26, Providence, R. I., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. May 17, '64.
Tilton, Lyman P., 22, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, d. June 14, '65, O. W. D.

Toomey, John, 27, Barre, July 5, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Torsey, Timothy T., 36, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, killed Oct. 21, '61.
Tower, Alvin, 29, Cohasset, Aug. 27, '61, died June 8, '62.

Underwood, Theodore, 19, Georgetown, Jan. 13, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 16, '63.

Videto, Alfred, 22, Williamsburg, N. Y., Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d.
Voigt, Julius, 22, Malden, May 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Warnecke, Herman, 20, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. July 27, '65.
Waters, George W., 21, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '61, killed Oct. 21, '61.
Webber, John, 38, Bridgewater, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Weber, Henry, 22, Boston, July 15, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Welch, William, 29, Ireland, Aug. 23, '61, killed Oct. 21, '61.
Wellington, Waldo H., 34, Ashby, Aug. 29, '61, deserted Apr. 29, '63.
Wells, John, 18, Adams, Aug. 31, '61, deserted Aug. 10, '62.
Wood, George E., 21, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Wood, Manton A., 18, Lanesboro, Aug. 31, '61, d. June 21, '65.
Woodland, William, 29, Ireland, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 15, '62.
Wolf, Julius, 28, Boston, Mar. 29, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Wright, Charles, 21, Beverly, Aug. 8, '61, killed Oct. 21, '61.
Wurbs, Franz, 27, Boston, Apr. 6, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Corporal

Dillon, Edward A., m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Bartlett, Henry F., tr. from Co. D. Aug., '64.
Bauer, Michael, died a prisoner of war, Sept. 17, '64.
Bode, Henry, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Braley, Henry C., d. f. d. Feb. 9, '65.
Brown, Charles A., died Dec. 7, '64.
Burke, Michael S., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Carey, Philip, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Collins, George, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Cook, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Echelman, James, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Fitzgerald, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Goodnow, Samuel E., tr. to V. R. C.

McTague, Dominick, died Dec. 27, '64.
Mack, John, deserted Mar. 2, '65.
Mack, Thomas C., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Ripley, Thomas K., tr. to Co. B.
Runey, Peter, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates

Abraham, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Watson, George H., m. Aug. 1, '64.

COMPANY B

Sergeants

Bitzer, Lewis, 26, Boston, July 26, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Buettinger, Adam, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Mar. 20, '63.

Crowley, Patrick, 19, Lowell, tr. from Co. G., m. July 16, '65.

Hirschauer, Anton, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. April 12, '62.
Holland, David, 26, Weymouth, Apr. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65.

Joeckel, George, 25, Roxbury, July 26, '61, killed July 3, '63.

Otto, Gustav, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 28, '65.

Rost, Charles, 19, Worcester, July 26, '61, pr. 1st Lieut. June 1, '64.

Schoof, Frederick A., 31, Boston, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C., Oct. 20, '63.
Smoke, Albert, 29, Boston, Nov. 22, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Strachwitz, Bernard, 23, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Sept. 5, '62.

Wagner, Bathaser, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 17, '62.
Wittekindt, Henry, 26, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 15, '63.

Corporals

Buettinger, Christian, 34, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 18, '63.

Fleirg, Ferdinand, 28, Reading, July 26, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Jan. 29, '65.

Garharet, Francis, 45, Boston, tr. from Co. F., m. July 16, '65.
Getz, Jacob, 18, Boston, tr. from Co. A., Dec. 20, '63, m. July 16, '65.

Heerter, Anton, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 3, '63.

Kessler, Michael, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, m. July 16, '65.

Lang, Emil, 30, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Sept. 25, '62.

Miller, Gottfried, 30, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 6, '63.

Suess, Werner, 36, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, d. f. d. May 31, '62.

Tiesler, Bruno, 30, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 14, '63, as a private.

Wanders, William, 35, Roxbury, Aug. 6, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 9, '62.

Musician

Gilbert, Philip, 20, Boston, July 26, '61, m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Andres, August, 29, Malden, Aug. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Anthony, Joseph, 36, Boston, Aug. 10, '61, d. Aug. 19, '64.
Arnold, Charles, 22, Boston, Sept. 19, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 7, '63.
Asher, Adolph, 21, Boston, Sept. 2, '61, deserted Dec. 24, '62.

Bader, Frederick, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Baier, Henrich, 25, Chelsea, July 26, '61, tr. to V R. C. Nov. 1, '63.
Baker, Charles, 16, Roxbury, transferred from Co. C., m. July 16, '65.
Baumann, August, 24, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Beck, William A., 35, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, dishonorably d. Mar. 11, '62.
Becker, Edward, 30, Boston, Jan. 19, '64, deserted, Apr. 11, '64.
Beckman, August, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Beckman, Conrad, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. May 3, '65. O. W D.
Bierlig, William, 20, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Biewald, Carl, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Bixler, Paul, 23, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Boder, Henry, 36, Boston, Aug. 18, '62, k. May 6, '64.
Boehne, Julius, 31, Dedham, July 26, '61, no further record.
Bohme, Frank, 20, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Bondy, Louis, 29, Roxbury, July 14, '64, deserted June 13, '65.
Bornemann, Henry C. A., 31, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. May 29, '65. O. W D.
Bostell, Theodore, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 2, '65.
Brandtberg, William, 44, Roxbury, Aug. 8, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Breitfeld, Emil, 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Brown, John, 27, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 7, '63.
Buchen, Herman, 23, Lynn, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Aug. 27, '63.
Burke, Michael, 22, Boston, Sept. 2, '62, dis. Oct. 13, '64.
Burrell, David, 19, Medford, Mar. 15, '64, rejected Apr. 26, '64.

Cæsar, Julius, 21, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Caspar, Nicholas, 44, Cambridge, Oct. 15, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 29, '62.
Choisnel, John, 39, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Oct. 20, '63.

Decker, Ferdinand, 19, Boston, July 26, '61, transferred to Co. F. as sergeant.
Denner, Adam, 31, Boston, Oct. 4, '61, d. f. d. June 18, '62.

Derner, Robert, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Diereks, Christian, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Dippolt, John, 24, St. Mary, Penn. July 31, '61, d. o. w. July 6, '63.

Ecker, Otto, 29, Roxbury, July 26, '61, d. July 26, '64.
Eggers, Henry, 21, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Ehler, John, 31, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Einhorn, Carl J. W., 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, k. May 6, '64.
Elliott, Samuel, 35, Charlestown, July 26, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Elsner, Constantine, 25, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. June 8, '65.

Fathaurn, Herman F., 30, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Fischer, Adolph, 21, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. May 25, '62.
Fischer, John, 26, Boston, Apr. 10, '61, transferred to Co. D.
Fisher, Henry, 21, Springfield, July 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Fitzgerald, John, 22, Greenfield, d. f. d. Apr. 21, '64.
Frank, Henry, 23, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Apr. 10, '64.
Frank, John, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. June 17, '65.
Frank, William, 21, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 7, '62.
Freeman, August, 19, Boston, May 3, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Gluer, Frederick, 30, Germany, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Goethke, John, 42, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 15, '62.
Gramburg, George, 19, Hingham, May 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Green, Benjamin F., 18, Portsmouth, N. H., Sept. 7, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 21, '61.
Grein, George, 23, Boston, Aug. 22, '61, deserted Aug. 12, '62.
Guillaume, Charles, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Gurlitz, Louis, 29, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Guternuth, Frederick, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.

Haas, Charles, 40, Dedham, July 26, '61, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Hampe, Frederick, 30, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, d. June 20, '65. O. W. D.
Hanifer, John, 35, Quincy, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64.
Harler, Lorenz, 27, Boston, July 26, '61, d. o. w. Apr. 14, '63.
Harrington, James, 33, Sandwich, Mar. 22, '64, no further record.
Hauer, Frederick W., 23, Boston, Mar. 22, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Heidlberg, Louis, 32, Boston, June 10, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Heller, Louis, 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Helmbricht, Henry, 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Henig, Franz, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Aug. 9, '61.
Herbst, Pankratz, 27, Boston, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 7, '63.
Herz, Joseph, 22, Springfield, July 14, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Homberg, John, 25, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Huhn, August, 23, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Hulse, Julius, 26, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Humpke, Herman, 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Jagers, Henry, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Johnson, Thomas, 23, Ashfield, July 18, '63, deserted Aug. 27, '63.

Jordan, Carl, 21, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Jost, John, 20, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Jung, William, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. May 13, '62.

Kahl, Ernst, 35, Boston, Jan. 19, '64, deserted Apr. 6, '64.
Kajewsky, Julius, 33, Dedham, Aug. 22, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 21, '63.
Kane, John, 28, Easthampton, July 18, '63, transferred to Co. I.
Karcher, Frederick, 36, New Bedford, Sept. 13, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 2, '63.
Kask, Johann, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Aug. 9, '61.
Katcher, Charles, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Aug. 9, '64.
Katz, Fritz, 19, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kawell, Gustav, 18, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 10, '63.
Kessler, Theodore, 24, Boston, Apr. 9, '64, d. f. d. Nov. '64.
Klara, Charles, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, d. f. d. Feb. 15, '65.
Kleeberg, Frederick, 41, Boston, Aug. 22, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 15, '63.
Knabbs, Albert, 20, Boston, transferred from Co. C. d. f. d. Feb. 15, '65.
Kretschmer, Adolph, 30, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 25, '63.
Krug, August, 21, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, transferred to Co. D.
Kuhfus, Max, 21, Malden, May 12, '64, deserted Jan. 1, '65.
Kurtz, Henry, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Lamb, Jacob, 47, Germany, Sept. 3, '61, d. f. d. May 10, '62.
Lippert, Edmund G., 21, Boston, May 7, '64, d. May 26, '65. O. W. D.
Loeslein, Simon, 36, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 8, '63.
Lohrmann, Charles, 25, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Lubbert, William, 32, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. June 3, '65.
Lysholm, Henry, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.

McDonald, Hugh, 36, Boston, Mar. 21, '64, missing since May 30, '64.
McDonald, Thomas, 21, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64.
McHugh, Miles, 20, Lynn, July 31, '63, died Jan. 27, '64.
McLaughlin, John, 26, Cummington, July 18, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.
Mack, Thomas, 40, Concord, July 25, '63, d. o. w. May 6, '64.
Maier, Ciprion, 26, Roxbury, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 16, '63.
Marks, Frederick, 24, Roxbury, July 9, '63, deserted June 13, '65.
Marks, Heinrich, 37, Boston, July 26, '61, pr. Sergt. Maj. Mar. 31, '63.
Marlook, Jacob F., 39, Sept. 13, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 21, '61.
Marzahl, August, 21, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, sent a prisoner to Salisbury, N. C. Sept. 9, '64. No further record.
Mealy, James, 23, Boston, Feb. 25, '64, deserted June 26, '64.
Meed, Charles, 21, Amherst, July 18, '63, deserted Apr. 7, '64.
Metzger, George, 20, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent.
Meyer, Christian, 18, Boston, July 31, '62, deserted May 4, '63.
Meyers, Herman, 33, Concord, July 30, '63, dishonorably discharged by sentence of G. C. M. Aug. 22, '64.
Miller, Carl, 18, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Miller, Jacob, 38, Boston, Apr. 5, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Miller, William P., 28, Truro, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Aug. 27, '63.

Moller, Julius, 25, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Morrow, William, 37, St. John, N. B., Sept. 9, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 21, '61.
Most, August, 32, Roxbury, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 1, '62.

Noirel, Charles, 38, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Aug. 25, '61.

Opitz, Godfrey, 24, Boston, Jan. 21, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Otto, Gustav, 25, Boston, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 28, '65.
Otto, William, 31, Cambridge, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 18, '63.

Pabst, Joseph, 25, Boston, Aug. 6, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Aug. 9, '63.
Pfeiffer, Jacob, 24, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. May 19, '64.
Polie, Frederick, 35, Cambridge, Dec. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Putner, Peter, 18, Dedham, Feb. 20, '64, murdered Oct. 6, '64.

Rabenan, Ludwig, 21, Sept. 8, '61, killed Sept. 17, '62.
Raubs, Gebhart, 27, Sept. 4, '61, killed Oct. 14, '63.
Reff, Louis, 27, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Feb. 30, '63.
Rehmer, William, 28, Boston, Sept. 13, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Reiver, Francis, 24, Apr. 14, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Riensberg, Heinrich, 31, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Riess, Christian, 24, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, deserted to the enemy Nov. 24, '64.
Riorden, John, 21, Boston, Mar. 11, '64, tr. to Co. A.
Rock, Wenden, 32, Gloucester, June 12, '64, deserted June 13, '65.
Rohrbeck, Fritz, 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C Jan. 16, '65.
Rosenau, Charles, 22, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Roth, Moses, 23, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, died July 1, '62.

Sampson, William, 36, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 27, '63.
Schaber, John, 24, Boston, July 26, '61, died Sept. 29, '62.
Schamer, John, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Schaur, John, 23, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Scherer, Peter, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Scherz, William, Boston, May 26, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Schieferdecker, Herman O., 26, New Bedford, Aug. 29, '61, deserted Feb. 9, '63.
Schilling, John, 26, Worcester, Aug. 6, '61, d. o. w. Sept. 20, '62.
Schmidt, Gotfried, 20, Medford, Aug. 4, '63, dishonorably dis. Mar. 15, '67.
Schmidt, Henry, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, tr. to Co. C.
Schnege, August, 36, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 21, '62.
Schoenberg, Henry J., 32, Boston, Aug. 6, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 30, '63.
Schrader, Frederick, 37, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Shrassig, Heinrich, 21, Malden, May 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Schriever, William, 35, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Schroeder, John, 29, Boston, Mar. 30, '64, dis. June 30, '65.
Schulz, Henry W., 32, Boston, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Jan. 13, '65.
Schilze, Charles, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, tr. to V. R. C. Aug. 15, '64.
Schuster, Christian, 32, Reading, July 26, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Schwarzman, Edward, 40, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 28, '62.

Schwerin, Frederick, 27, Pembroke, m. July 16, '65.
Seibel, Conrad, 25, Roxbury, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 17, '63.
Seip, Jacob, 35, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, missing since May 10, '64.
Sessler, Jacob, 24, Randolph, July 26, '61, deserted Oct. 25, '62.
Siegrist, Carl, 38, Boston, July 6, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Stieber, Albert, 23, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Stolle, Louis, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Strale, John, 32, Greenfield, July 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Sturm, Martin, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Tent, Frederick, 30, Tisbury, Apr. 1, '64, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Nov. 25, '64.
Thieman, August, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, d. July 15, '65. O. W D.
Trautwein, John B., 40, Roxbury, Aug. 29, '61, d. o. w. June 8, '62.

Vaughnsphoor, Joseph, 33, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.
Veillard, John, 35, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, tr. to Co. F.
Vogel, George, 24, New Bedford, July 10, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '62.

Wagner, Christian, 26, Boston, July 26, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Weissensee, Clemens, 26, Boston, July 26, '61, killed July 3, '63.
Wenige, Herman, 25, Boston, Oct. 11, '61, deserted Sept. 15, '62.
Wildman, Henry G., 31, Quincy, Aug. 6, '61, dishonorably discharged by G. C. M. Jan. 20, '63.
Wilhelm, Andreas, 23. Boston, July 26, '61, d. o. w. Oct. 20, '62.
Wilson, August, 36, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Jan. 3, '62.
Wirth, Herman, 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Wolfram, Adolph, 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Wortmann, Adolph, 26, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Wrieth, Henry, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. July 28, '64.
Writh, Frederick, 21, Boston, Apr. 18, '64, d. June 10, '65. O. W. D.

York, Henry, 22, Roxbury, July 16, '64, deserted July 13, '65.

Zeis, Julius, 24, Sterling, Apr. 9, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Zoelner, Franz E., 40, deserted Dec. 10, '62.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Corporal

Mathison, Henry, m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Burns, Daniel, deserted Mar. 17, '64.

Cooper, James, deserted Mar. 15, '64.

Hall, Frank B., m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Hubner, Frederick W., died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Nov. 8, '64.

Mokle, Frank, d. June 16, '65. O. W. D.

Ripley, Thomas K., tr. from Co. A., died Apr. 9, '64.

Sullivan, James, d. f. d. Feb. 20, '64.

Trapp, Charles, deserted Apr. 7, '64.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates

Anton, Carl, d. ex. t. Oct. 8, '64.

COMPANY C

Sergeants

Griffin, Daniel, 19, Boston, July 18, '61, pr. 1st Lt. July 22, '63.

Joseff, Philip P., 21, Philadelphia, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 6, '63.

Magnitzsky, Gustave, 22, Boston, July 18, '61, pr. 1st Lt. Mar. 21, '64.

Reiss, Albert, 29, Boston, July 18. '61, d. f. d. Feb. 18, '62.

Sanders, Henry F., 26, Boston, July 26, '61, pr. Q. M. Segt.
Schlett, Peter, 33, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 13, '63.

Will, Frederick, 32, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. July 27, '65.
Wolf, Joseph, 23, Boston, July 18, '61, d. o. w. July 20, '62.

Corporals

Goulding, James T., 28, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 28, '64.

Hummel, Joseph, 43, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 12, '62.
Hurley, Edward, 39, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 11, '62.

Joseff, Emanuel, 23, d. f. d. Oct. 24, '62.

Light, Charles, 30, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, d. Feb. 22, '63.

Steffens, Anton, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Stott, Joseph, 31, Boston, Sept. 1, '61. No further record.

Musicians

Baker, Henry, 18, Dana, Mar. 22, '64, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.

Kernberger, Adolph, 18, Boston, July 26, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.

Privates

Andernach, Florence, 32, Boston, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 5, '63.

Baker, Charles, 16, Roxbury, Dec. 9, '61, tr. to Co. B.
Baskett, Andrew, 21, Roxbury, Nov. 22, '61, d. ex. t. Nov. 12, '64.
Baskett, Joseph, 18, Roxbury, Nov. 22, '61, deserted July 31, '62.
Bender, Jacob, 34, Boston, July 18, '61, pr. Com. Sergt. Mar. 6, '63.
Beska, George, 42, Roxbury, July 20, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 2, '62.
Betz, John S., 34, Roxbury, Nov. 29, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 17, '62.
Bohme, Franz, 26, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '64.
Bohner, Alois, 28, Watertown, Mar. 8, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Bollmer, Adam, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, tr. to V. R. C. Dec. 30, '64.
Brogan, Dennis, 18, Milford, tr. from Co. F Sept. 3, '63.
Bruder, Leopold, 31, Roxbury, Feb. 20, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 28, '63.
Bulsingsteben, William H., 46, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 26, '61.
Busche, Frederick W., 32, Charlestown, Sept. 9, '62, missing since May 6, '64.
Butler, Patrick L., 21, Boston, Sept. 6, '62, deserted Mar. '64.

Canahan, John, 44, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, deserted Sept. 14, '62.
Christely, Charles, 33, Amesbury, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 2, '62.

Damp, Ludwig, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Deck, Henry, 25, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Oct. 15, '64.
Decker, Anton, 18, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, tr. to Co. F.
Dirch, William, 41, Clinton, July 18, '61, k. accidentally July 7, '62.
Durant, Oswald, 25, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, d. f. d. Nov. 19, '64.
Durgin, John C., 21, Boston, Aug. 5, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Duttling, August, 20, Boston, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.

Eayres, William B., 28, Aug. 3, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '63.

Ferguson, Andrew, 38, Fitchburg, July 18, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '63.
Finn, William, 25, Boston, tr. from Co. A., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Folger, Reuben S., 36, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. June 24, '63.
Foster, William C., 23, S. Danvers, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 4, '63.
Fowler, James, 23, Colraine, tr. from Co. A., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Frank, Charles, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Freidenberg, Nathan, 21, Middleboro, Aug. 8, '63, k. July 23, '64.
Friedrichsen, Ludwig, 40, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. Aug. 14, '64.
Frincn, Zeiwin, 24, Dorchester, Apr. 1, '64, deserted June 13, '64.
Fuchs, William, 26, Roxbury, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. A. as Sergt.
Fuhrman, Michael, 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. Jan. 16, '65.

Gammel, Samuel, 39, Malden, tr. from Co. A., m. July 16, '65.
Garbe, Henry, 29, Boston, Mar. 4, '64, died Oct. 19, '64.
Gatzens, George, 21, Sandwich, May 11, '64, deserted Oct. 26, '64.
Glover, William, 25, Wareham, tr. from Co. A., deserted May 29, '64.
Goldberg, Jacob, 21, Boston, July 28, '62, died Dec. 23, '62.

Gollies, Edward, 22, Boston, Mar. 25, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 22, '62.
Graigan, Bernard, 21, Saxony, Aug. 29, '61, deserted June 30, '62.
Grier, Charles, 18, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Groht, Henry, 25, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, died July 19, '64.
Gunther, Frederick, 18, Baltimore, July 18, '61, d. Aug. 9, '61.

Hahn, Werner, 26, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Harris, Thomas, 28, Gloucester, Aug. 5, '63, tr. to Navy, Apr. 25, '64.
Hartman, Matthias, 42, Boston, July 28, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 10, '63.
Haskins, Henry F., 25, Wareham, Aug. 11, '62, tr. to 11th U. S. inf. Nov. 13, '62.
Hausch, Albert, 18, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Nov. 10, '64.
Hayes, John B., 40, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. May 27, '62.
Heggerty, William, 20, Amherst, July 18, '63, deserted Sept. 13, '63.
Heim, Joseph, 26, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Helm, William, 30, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, deserted Apr. 30, '63.
Hofman, Philip, 23, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Oct. 15, '63.
Honnard, Joseph, 34, Boston, July 18, '61, pr. Hosp. Stew. July 26, '61.
Huhn, Franz, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Huitte, Patrick, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. F.
Hunck, Frederick, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. May 6, '64.

Johnson, Frederick, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted July 31, '62.
Junghaw, August, 30, Boston, Apr. 4, 64, tr. to Co. F June 13, '65.

Kassell, George, 28, Roxbury, Sept. 18, '61, deserted Mar. 25, '63.
Kernberger, Andreas, 40, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 27, '63.
Kernberger, William, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted June 12, '64.
Knabbes, Albert, 20, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, tr. to Co. B.
Kohler, George, 34, Boston, July 18, '61, died Dec. 22, '62.
Kraft, Alois, 30, Boston, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Kuhn, Frederick, 23, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Feb. 11, '65.

Lairbaud, Christian, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. Feb. 6, '65.
Langhirichs, William, 35, Boston, Mar. 29, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Oct. 25, '64.
Leiblein, William, 35, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 13, '62.

McGovern, Patrick, 25, Lynn, July 18, '61, k. May 6, '64.
McFarland, Malcolm, 43, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Oct. 8, '63.
Maiers, Christian A., 18, Roxbury, Aug. 5, '62, deserted May 4, '63.
Meghan, James, 37, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, missing since May 18, '64.
Meroth, Charles, 18, Boston, Aug. 6, '62, died Nov. 29, '62.
Meyer, Albert, 22, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, d. f. d. May 12, '65.
Meyer, Jacob, 28, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 2, '62.
Meyer, Joseph, 29, Boston, July 18, '61, drowned Oct. 21, '61.
Miller, Carl, 32, Cambridge, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 10, '63.

Miller, Frederick W., 18, Boston, Mar. 23, '64, tr. to V R. C. Feb. 7, '65.
Miller, Gustave A. F., 20, Plymouth, June 6, '64, deserted June 13, '64.
Minuty, Franz, 29, July 26, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Mochle, August, 29, Boston, k. May 6, '64.
Moegle, Christian, 23, Lawrence, July 18, '61, d. f. d. June 23, '62.
Moore, Rickey W., 33, Boston, Apr. 6, '64, deserted May 30, '64.
Murphy, John, 30, Boston, Aug. 11, '62, tr. to V R. C.
Murphy, Patrick, 30, Boston, Aug. 11, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Murphy, Patrick, 26, Boston, Sept. 12, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Myers, George, 30, Boston, Mar. 26, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 2, '63.

Noonan, Edward, 24, Boston, transferred from Co. G, m. Aug. 1, '64.

O'Donnell, Hugh, 21, Lexington, Aug. 30, '62, deserted Nov. 19, '62.
Otto, Simon, 19, Boston, transferred from Co. F, missing since May 8, '64.

Pfister, Charles, 46, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '61.
Prehl, John, 36, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, missing since May 5, 64.
Proehl, August, 26, Boston, missing since May 6, '64.

Quimbly, John, 21, Boston, July 26, '61, k. May 6, '64.

Rank, Herman, 20, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Oct. 1, '62.
Reidel, Herman, 19, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. Mar. 1, '65.
Reismott, Charles, 25, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, deserted June 13, '64.
Reymers, Edward, 28, Boston, July 26, '61, k. May 6, '64.
Rinner, Johan, 38, Lawrence, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 20, '62.
Roach, Samuel, 34, Boston, Aug. 15, '62. No record subsequent to Sept. 3, '62.
Rohm, John, 23, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 10, '62.
Rubin, Robert, 22, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Oct. 1, '62.
Ruppert, Frederick, 19, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 14, '64.

Schlegel, John, 21, Boston, July 14, '63, deserted June 13, '64.
Schmidt, Henry, 26, Boston, transferred from Co. B, deserted to the enemy while prisoner of war.
Schneider, Jacob, 18, Roxbury, Dec. 17, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Schubert, August, 22, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, d. f. d. Jan. 16, '64.
Schuster, George, 26, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 1, '63.
Seasley, Christian, 22, Roxbury, Dec. 18, '61, deserted Apr. 13, '64.
Seeberg, Rudolph, 24, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, died Feb. 27, '65.
Seeberg, Simon, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, d. o. w. Sept. 18, '64.
Seibert, Christian, 32, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 13, '63.
Seifert, Herman, 33, Lawrence, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64, as absent wounded since May 6, '64. No further record.
Seitz, Louis, 30, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 25, '61.
Sharff, Anthony, 44, Baden, Sept. 2, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 10, '63.
Sleeper, Jacob, 33, Boston, Aug. 21, '61, d. of disease, Aug. 26, '63.
Spicer, Gotfried, 35, died Sept. 18, '62.
Spicer, James, 38, Dorchester, July 8, '64, deserted June 13, '64.
Stoll, Otto, 18, Roxbury, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Mar. 28, '64.

Tepfer, Edward, 22, Boston, Mar. 1, '64, d. o. w. Aug. 29, '64.
Trembly, Christopher, 35, Tisbury, July 3, '63, transferred to Co. F, June 13, '65.

Unreihn, Carl, 20, Apr. 4, '64. tr. to Co. F. June 15, '65.
Urban, Henry, 22, New Bedford, died Jan. 7, '65.

Vogel, Henry, 21, Lawrence, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 6, '62.

Wettberg, Edward, 23, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, transferred to Co. K.
Wipfler, Jacob, 32, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 27, '63.
Witte, Edward, 19, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, tr. to V. R. C. Mar. 21, '64.
Wolfe, Michael, 34, Roxbury, Nov. 22, '61, k. June 3, '64.

Zeuner, Franz, 34, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 4, '63.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Private

Hadley, Edmund, d. f. d. June 20, '65.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Musician

Kane, John D., discharged June 8, '65, O. W. D.

COMPANY D

Sergeants

Berry, Horace A., 23, Quincy, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 4, '63.
Bixby, Charles H., 20, Boston, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Blackburn, Robert, Jr., 21, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, k. May 6, '64.

Cogan, James M., 31, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. July 24, '62.
Curtis, Charles J., 23, Canton, July 18, '61, promoted 1st Lt. Apr. 27, '64.

Hassett, Michael, 34, Cambridge, transferred from Co. A, m. July 16, '65.
Holland, James W R., 22, Mansfield, July 18, '61, promoted 1st Lt. July 22, '63.

McGee, John A., 27, Northbridge, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65.
McGuire, Barnard, 23, promoted Mar. 7, '65, m. July 16, '65.

Parker, Josiah H., 21, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, d. Mar. 25, '65.

Talcott, Richard H. L., 24, Mansfield, July 18, '61, d. f. d. July 7, '62.

Willard, Samuel, 22, Boston, July 18, '61, promoted 2d Lt. Oct. 1, '62.
Wilson, George, 40, Portsmouth, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 12, '62.

Corporals

Alger, Israel, 32, Boston, July 18, '61, died June 8, '62.

Barber, John, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Booth, William H. H., 22, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 24, '62.
Bowen, Henry, 39, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. May 1, '62.

Donnelly, James, 19, Greenfield, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 9, '65.

Hawkins, Richard, 28, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.

Kemp, James A., 24, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.

Sampson, Frank, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.

Tripp, Lott, 43, New Bedford, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '61.

Musicians

Ashley, Daniel, 18, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 5, '62.

Fernandez, Francis N., 16, Boston, Feb. 21, '62, m. July 16, '65.

Wagoner

Draper, Daniel H., 35, Milford, transferred from Co. G, d. ex. t., Aug. 25, '64.

Privates

Aiken, Alexander, 25, New Bedford, Aug. 24, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Atherton, James A., 25, Springfield, July 6, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Atkinson, Robert, 23, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Sept. 4, '62.

Baker, Asa B., 22, Wareham, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Jan. 14, '63.
Baxter, John, 32, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61. Nothing further.
Baxter, John W., 21, Fitchburg, July 18, '63, d. June 22, '65. O. W. D.
Besse, Joshua, 2d, 38, Wareham, transferred from Co. E, died Apr. 28, '64.
Borden, Daniel W., 20, New Bedford, July 18, '61, k. Dec. 13, '62.
Bres, Louis, 22, Roxbury, Apr. 9, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Brooks, John C., 21, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Brown, James R., 36, Roxbury, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Brown, John, 29, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Sept. 11, '62.
Brown, John, 22, Boston, Aug. 6, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Bryson, Thomas, 35, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Nov. 7, '64.
Buckley, James, 33, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, d. o. w. Jan. 1, '63.
Burditt, Thomas E., 22, Lancaster, Sept. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Sept. 14, 64.
Butler, William M., 22, Boston, Aug. 4, '62, tr. to V R. C.

Cable, George, 25, Mattapoisett, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 16, '63.
Cahalan, John, 21, Boston, Oct. 9, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Calon, William, 18, Boston, July 26, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.

Casey, Daniel, 38, Salem, Dec. 10, '61, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Casey, William, 29, Lowell, Mar. 29, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 8, '63.
Cero, Charles, 21, July 18, '61, d. o. w. Jan. 1, '63.
Chalmer, James L., 29, Eastham, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Cheeney, John M., 27, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Clare, Robert, 27, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Sept. 3, '64.
Coffin, John E., 33, Boston, July 22, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 19, '63.
Collins, Maurice, 36, Boston, Aug. 30, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Connelly, Eugene, 24, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, k. Nov. 5, '64.
Connor, James, 25, Boston, July 8, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Cott, John, 21, Springfield, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Dag, John, 22, Quincy, Aug. 29, '61, k. June 8, '64.
Davis, George, 28, Lawrence, Sept. 2, '61, deserted Aug. 27, '63.
Davis, John, 28, Truro, Aug. 8, '63, tr. to Navy, Apr. 23, '64.
Davis, John J., 26, Greenfield, July 18, '63, deserted Sept. 30, '64.
Davis, William, 38, Boston, July 28, '63, d. f. d. Aug. 11, '64.
De Courcey, Charles, 21, Easthampton, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Denkla, Frederick W., 26, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Denningham, David, 18, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, deserted June 5, '64.
Denningham, William, 19, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, deserted Sept. 14, '62.
Denton, Charles H., 21, Brewster, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Derex, Louis, 21, Worcester, Aug. 3, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Devine, John, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Dickerson, Hiram B., 21, Rochester, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Dill, Joseph, 29, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, d. Oct. 10, '62.
Donallan, Michael, 18, Sept. 4, '61.
Donohoe, James, 25, Foxboro, Aug. 9, '62, k. Dec. 11, '63.
Doran, William I., 25, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 20, '63.
Douglas, James R., 30, Melrose, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 20, '63.
Dow, James, 23, Boston, Aug. 23, '62, tr. to V R. C., Aug. 1, '63.
Drake, George J., 41, Boston, July 21, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Dress, John, 25, Warren, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 16, '63.
Dudley, Peter, 22, Swanzey, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Duffin, Richard, 35, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '63.
Dugan, Dennis, 19, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, k. May 12, '64.
Duker, James, 28, Boston, Mar. 13, '62, d. ex. t. Mar. 13, '65.
Dupee, Job W., 19, Lowell, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 21, '63.

Earnes, Warren F., 18, Maine, Aug. 31, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Eimer, Christian, 29, Lakeville, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 16, '63.
Evans, James G., 30, Salem, Feb. 11, '62, d. ex. t. Feb. 11, '65.
Evans, William, 29, Easthampton, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Fischer, John, 26, Boston, transferred from Co. B, died July 1, '64.
Fitzgerald, Joseph, 22, Worcester, m. July 16, '65.
Flagg, George P., 35, Rutland, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. July 9, '62.
Ford, Samuel W., 24, Roxbury, July 9, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
French, John, 23, Ashfield, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.

Gagleham, Patrick, 30, Boston, Sept. 2, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Galligan, James, 30, Lowell, Sept. 2, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Garment, George, 26, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. May 25, '65.
Geesler, Francis, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 10, '64.
Glacken, Thomas, 18, Boston, transferred from Co. G, reënlisted Mar. 29, '64. No further record.
Goodrich, John, 22, Springfield, July 6, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Grah, Hugo, 30, Boston, Mar. 9, '64, missing since May 6, '64.
Graham, William, 28, England, Aug. 31, '61, captured Oct. 21, '61, paroled May 28, '62, at Salisbury, N. C. No further record.
Grany, John, 22, Springfield, July 6, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Hart, Robert, 21, Sept. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Sept. 5, '64.
Haskins, John B. G., 17, New Bedford, Aug. 29, '61, deserted Sept. 16, '62.
Heescher, Henry, 28, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, missing since May 6, '64.
Hosges, Samuel, 22, Springfield, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick
Holbrook, Alden H., 19, Quincy, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Howard, Hiram V., 23, New Bedford, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.

Inch, William, 32, Boston, July 30, '62, k. July 3, '63.
Irving, William, 26, Boston, Aug. 31, '61, m. July 16, '65.

Jackson, William, 25, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 13, '61.
Jennings, Joseph D., 25, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. July 24, '65.
Johannsen, John H. N., 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Johnson, Henry A., 28, Boston, July 9, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Johnson, Junius J., 29, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, k. Dec. 14, '62.
Jones, Edward, 38, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 12, '61.
Jones, Robert T., 27, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 8, '62.
Jordan, Joseph H., 30, Boston, Aug. 26, '62, deserted Apr. 10, '63.

Keefer, William, 23, Mar. 30, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kempton, Lewis, 19, Dedham, Feb. 20, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kendrick, Nathan P., 19, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kennedy, James, 26, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Sept. 5, '62.
Kernachan, John B., 26, Boston, Mar. 3, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kestin, Edward, 43, Boston, Sept. 11, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Krug, August, 21, Boston, transferred from Co. B, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Kyd, Ernest, 25, Dorchester, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Leyson, John, 19, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, d. f. d. June 15, '63.
Long, Marcus J., 18, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 15, '63.
Lovering, John, 22, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Lucas, George, 22, New Bedford, Aug. 10, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Luzarder, Joseph, 18, Quincy, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 22, '61.
Lynch, John, 18, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Lyon, John, 30, Fall River, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 30, '63.

McCullough, Patrick, 26, Sept. 2, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
McEliny, John W., 32, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Sept. 14, '64.

McFarling, Samuel, 23, Boston, Aug. 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
McGee, Michael, 39, New Bedford, Sept. 9, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 1, '63.
McGuire, Barnard, 23, Jan. 7, '64, promoted Sergeant, Mar. 7, '65.
McMullen, Sinney, 35, Canton, Aug. 8, '62, d. f. d. May 30, '63.
McQueeny, John T., 31, Boston, July 28, '62, tr. to V. R. C., Sept. 3, '63.
McQuestion, Clinton, 18, Haverhill, Aug. 21, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
McVey, James, 27, Somerville, July 23, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 13, '63.
Manning, Patrick, 24, Aug. 29, '61, k. July 3, '63.
May, William, 20, Concord, Aug. 31, '61, d. Sept. 2, '62.
Meacham, Loring, 35, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. July 25, '62.
Medbury, Alpheus T., 25, Seekonk, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 7, '62.
Merrill, Eli, 45, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 3, '63.
Munroe, Charles, 27, Boston, Mar. 11, '64, k. June 8, '64.
Murphy, David, 23, Boston, Aug. 27, '62, d. f. d. Sept. 2, '63.
Murphy, Edward, 26, New Bedford, July 22, '61, deserted Sept. 5, '62.
Murphy, John, 23, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, d. July 28, '65.
Murphy, John, 24, Boston, July 18, '61. No further record.
Murphy, John E., 18, New Bedford, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 15, '64.
Muthig, Christopher, 22, Boston, Mar. 26, '64, deserted June 15, '64.

Neary, John, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.

O'Brien, Daniel, 19, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
O'Connell, John J., 19, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 13, '63.
O'Hara, Patrick, 41, Boston, tr. from Co. K, d. Aug. 27, '64.
O'Harran, Hugh, 33, Pittsfield, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 1, '63.
O'Keefe, Owen, 30, Aug. 24, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 25, '64.
O'Leary, Patrick, 18, Boston, Aug. 23, '62, tr. to V R. C.

Partridge, Amos H., 18, Westminster, Aug. 29, '61, d. o. w. Nov. '61.
Perry, William D., 22, New Bedford, Nov. 29, '61, tr. to V. R. C.
Phillips, Andrew, 23, Boston, Mar. 11, '62, d. Mar. 25, '65.
Place, Henry, Jr., 42, New Bedford, Aug. 10, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 30, '63.
Poore, John, 21, Kingston, July 9, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Porter, Calvin, 44, Huntington, Aug. 26, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Pratt, William, 34, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. May 22, '62.
Proctor, Josiah H., 21, Franklin, Aug. 29, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.

Reed, Willard O., 18, Haverhill, Aug. 21, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 21, '61.
Reeves, Seeley P., 28, New Jersey, July 18, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 1, '63.
Robertson, Daniel T., 24, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 24, '62.

Sackett, Francis, 43, Ashburnham, Aug. 5, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 14, '61.
Scanlin, David, 23, Boston, d. f. d. Jan. 31, '65.
Sham, Henry, 26, Greenfield, deserted June 14, '65.
Shankland, James, 22, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 27, '63.
Shuman, Albert, 42, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 1, '62.
Simester, William H., 30, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 9, '63.
Skellin, Samuel D., 42, Charlestown, Aug. 7, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.

Slattery, John, 38, Boston, July 22, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 12, '63.
Slattery, Patrick, 23, Foxboro, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 15, '63.
Smith, James, 35, New Bedford, July 18, '63.
Smith, Joseph, 19, Lynn, Aug. 23, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 29, '64.
Smith, Matthew, 35, New Bedford, July 18, '61, died Dec. 11, '62.
Spear, Marcus, 21, Lynn, tr. from Co. A, m. July 16, '65.
Stanwood, Charles, 25, Wellfleet, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Steinhoffer, August, 24, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, d. o. w. June 6, '64.
Stetson, Albert W., 21, Randolph, Feb. 17, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Mar. 15, '64.
Stockwell, Joseph, 24, d. Feb. 4, '64.
Sullivan, James, 23, New Bedford, July 18, '61.

Tarter, James, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 12, '63.
Taylor, John, 26, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 12, '61.
Tettler, James, 35, Lawrence, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 13, '63.
Teyson, John, 25, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 11, '63.
Thompson, William, 33, tr. from Co. E, d. ex. t. Aug. 24, '64.
Tufts, William N., 23, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 31, '63.
Tullar, Samuel, 25, Boston, Mar. 15, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Turnbull, Alexander, 39, S. Reading, tr. from Co. E, d. ex. t. Aug. 21, '64.

Walch, Nelson J., 45, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 2, '61.
Warren, James G., 20, New Bedford, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 30, '63.
Wheeler, Francis A., 29, New Bedford, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 20, '63.
Whitcomb, Levi, 18, New Bedford, Aug. 29, '61, d. Mar. 25, '65.
Wilder, J. Emory, 37, Dedham, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. May 1, '62.
Wilson, James, 25 Springfield, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Witherell, David, 34, Boston, Sept. 10, '62, d. f. d. Sept. 12, '63.
Woods, Ashbury M., 22, Conn., Aug. 24, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 31, '64.
Woods, Matthew, 38, Worcester, July 6, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Yorkatsen, Julius, 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Transferred from the Nineteenth Massachusetts on January 14, 1864

Privates

Barnes, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Barrett, James, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Bartlett, Henry F., tr. to Co. A, Aug. '64.

Conners, Henry, d. f. d. Apr. 17, '65.
Copp, David G., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Doer, Stephen, m. July 16, '65.
Doherty, George, m. July 16, '65.
Dow, Thomas A., d. f. d. May 17, '65.

Eastman, Robert H., m. July 16, '65.

Frye, Joseph, tr. to V. R. C.

McCaul, John, m. July 16, '65.
McDonald, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Matthews, Charles, 2d, d. June 21, '65.
Mulligan, Michael, tr. to Navy, Mar. 29, '64.

Reese, George, tr. to Navy, Mar. 29, '64.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates

Armstrong, Hugh, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Doulay, John.

Newer, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

COMPANY E

Sergeants

Carpenter, Charles F., 26, Attleboro, Aug. 24, '61, d. ex. t. July 24, '64.
Carroll, William H., 32, Cambridge, July 22, '62, tr. to V. R. C.

Davis, Martin F., 22, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 3, '63.

Echenstein, Bernhardt L., 25, Stockholm, Aug. 24, '61, deserted Dec. 7, '62.

Ingalls, William H., 24, Marblehead, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to Co. F as private.

Smith, Henry J., 23, Salem, tr. from Co. A, deserted Aug. 26, '61.

Warren, Horace M., 20, S. Reading, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 23, '62.
Weatherbee, Edmund D., 25, Rutland, July 22, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.

Corporals

McGuire, Philip, 32, Cambridge, July 22, '62, d. f. d. May 14, '64.
McIntire, John, 18, Boston, Nov. 11, '61, d. o. w. Jan. 25, '63.

De Ronda, John D., 21, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 21, '61.

Somerville, James C., 18, Boston, July 22, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Streeter, Uriah J., 25, Dummerstown, Vt., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 9, '63.

Wagoners

Bend, Edward P., 31, Wayland, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 26, '62.

Turnbull, Alexander, 39, S. Reading, Aug. 31, '61, tr. to Co. D as private.

Privates

Barg, Henry, 28, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Apr. 20, '64.
Bender, Senrin, 29, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, dishonorably d. July 15, '65.
Bent, Joseph F., 27, Carver, Sept. 11, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 30, '63.
Besse, Joshua, 2d, 38, Wareham, transferred from Co. A, tr. to Co. D.
Brenner, James, 38, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Bridges, Henry, 24, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 24, '61.
Britton, George, 18, Chesterfield, Vt., Aug. 8, '61.
Brown, Francis G., 41, Lincoln, Sept. 13, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 29, '64.
Byron, Alfred G., 25, Boston, Apr. 21, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Camway, John, 25, Apr. 25, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Carey, Andrew, 35, Ireland, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Carr, John, 40, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '63.
Carter, William T., 45, Charlestown, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 24, '62.
Carver, David, 27, Foxboro, July 22, '61, d. o. w. Oct. 23, '61.
Chapman, Joseph, 31, Stamford, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 30, '63.
Chase, George L., 40, Lynn, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 14, '63.
Chase, Smith, 44, Boston, Oct. 29, '62, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 7, '63.
Conners, Eugene, 42, Boston, July 15, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 8, '63.
Conway, Thomas, 29, Boston, Aug. 20, '62, d. f. d. June 1, '63.
Cummings, Noah L., 26, Quincy, Feb. 26, '62, k. May 6, '64.

Darrell, Josiah M., 26, Boston, July 22, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Dettner, William, 22, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, missing since May 6, '64.
Devlin, Joseph, 35, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, d. Dec. 12, '62.
Dinehy, Timothy, 24, Concord, Sept. 7, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Doherty, Patrick, 30, Charlestown, July 22, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Donnelly, John, 38, Worcester, Dec. 8, '61, d. May 5, '65.
Downey, Thomas, 35, Boston, Aug. 30, '62, k. July 3, '63.

Eames, Frank W., 22, deserted Aug. 6, '63.

Faxon, Horatio, 38, Braintree, Aug. 15, '62, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Fenton, John, 42, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 7, '63.
Fisher, Edward, 27, Boston, transferred from Co. F, missing since May 6, '64.
Flemming, Thomas, 19, Lawrence, Aug. 8, '61, deserted Aug. 13, '61.

Garrity, Edward C., 18, Concord, Sept. 19, '61, died June 18, '62.
Garrity, Malachi, 43, Concord, Aug. 1, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 18, '64.
Gilbert, Willard, 18, Brattleboro, Aug. 8, '61, d. July 24, '65.
Gleason, Edward O., 36, Millbury, Aug. 8, '61, k. July 30, '62.
Goddard, Peter, 19, Canada, Aug. 10, '61, deserted Aug. 15, '61.
Gorman, Patrick, 28, Cambridge, July 22, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Apr. 10, '64.
Grace, Peirce, 21, Boston, July 11, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Gray, Nathan H., 19, Andover, Aug. 25, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 25, '64.
Griffin, Lucius, 25, Carver, Aug. 8, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.

Hagens, Barnard, 22, Boston, Sept. 5, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 8, '63.
Hamilton, Samuel, 20, Chester, Del., Aug. 30, '61, deserted Jan. 15, '62.
Hanaford, Benjamin F., 25, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Apr. 6, '64.
Harrington, Timothy, 26, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. June 20, '62.
Harris, John, 21, Springfield, July 8, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Harwood, Ezra O., 28, Georgetown, July 22, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Hirl, Michael, 42, Cambridge, July 19, '62, d. f. d. May 5, '63.

Johnson, David, 28, Glasgow, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 22, '62.
Johnston, Arthur, 34, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to Co. F.

Kehoe, Lawrence, 18, Boston, July 22, '61, deserted Sept. 17, '62.
Kehoe, Thomas, 19, Concord, Aug. 1, '62, d. f. d. Sept. 1, '64.
Kelly, Cornelius J., 22, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 1, '64.
Kelly, Henry, 28, Boston, Aug. 23, '62, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Aug. 23, '64.
Kelsey, John, 23, Marlboro, Vt. Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 18, '61.
Kendall, Thomas J., 20, Hinsdale, transferred from Co. A, Apr. 1, '62, dishonorably d. Aug. 29, '64.
Kennedy, John, 20, Pittsfield, Aug. 29, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 13, 63.
King, John P., 21, Boston, Sept. 26, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Kippler, Edward, 24, Bedford, Apr. 8, '64, missing since May 6, '64.

Leary, Cornelius, 26, Boston, July 22, '61, d. July 22, '64.
Leonard, Jeremiah, 37, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. May 12, '62.
Leonard, William A., 23, Boston, July 22, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Locke, Joseph, 39, Cavendish, Vt., Aug. 8, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Lucas, Jonathan P., 25, Rochester, Feb. 8, '62, k. July 3, '63.

McCarthy, John, 38, Boston, July 26, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '63.
McGillvary, Donald, 29, Foxboro, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Sept. 17, '62.
McGowan, John, 29, Quincy, July 22, '61, k. June 30, '62.
McShane, Robert, 35, Boston, July 16, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 13, '63.
Maloney, John, 24, Springfield, July 8, '63, dropped June 12, '65.
Mather, John, 32, Boston, Nov. 11, '61, d. Dec. 17, '62.
Miller, Ludwig, 28, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, missing since May 6, '64.
Monaghan, Peter, 18, Boston, Sept. 12, '62, deserted July 2, '63.
Murphy, Michael, 28, Boston, July 22, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.

O'Neil, Cornelius, 24, Quincy, Aug. 24, '61, deserted Mar. '62.

Parker, Hiram R., 18, W Roxbury, Oct. 7, '61, deserted Sept. 6, '62.
Payberry, Charles A. S., 18, Denmark, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to 1st Mass. Apr. 1, '63.
Picher, William, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, missing since May 18, '64.
Pierce, Cilenius M., 22, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Sept. 17, '62.

Rea, Francis O., 19, Boston, July 23, '62, died Mar. 15, '63.
Regan, Andrew, 29, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. May 15, '62.
Riley, James, 34, Roxbury, July 22, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '62.

Rowe, Moses, 45, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 14, '64.
Rush, John, 43, Abington, Aug. 15, '61, tr. to 13th Mass. Aug. 15, '61.

Schmidt, Harie, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, missing since May 6, '64.
Schmidt, John, 23, Marblehead, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 5, '63.
Slade, Henry, 22, Springfield, July 8, '64, dropped June 15, '65.
Smith, James J., 18, Conway, Aug. 13, '61, deserted Aug. 26, '61.
Smith, John, 21, Boston, Sept. 26, '62, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Sept. 1, '64.
Smith, Joseph, 19, Lynn, transferred from Co. A.
Smith, William G., 22, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Stewart, George, 28, July 22, '61, rejected Aug. 26, '61.
Stockwell, Edward S., 27, Boston, July 22, '61, d. f. d. July 24, '63.
Sullivan, Michael M., 19, Boston, Aug. 19, '62, deserted Sept. 4, '62.
Sullivan, Michael S., 22, Nashua, N. H., July 22, '61, tr. to V R. C. Nov. 6, '63.
Sweetland, Artemus, 26, Vernon, Vt., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 30, '63.

Thompson, William, 33, Scotland, Aug. 21, '61, tr. to Co. D.
Tootell, William, 30, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, d. o. w. June 23, '63.

Vance, Henry, 22, Springfield, July 8, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Volker, William, 23, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, missing since May 6, '64.

White, James, 25, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '64.
Wilkinson, Charles, 30, Lancaster, July 18, '63, deserted Feb. 8, '64.
Williams, Thomas, 22, Ashfield, July 18, '63, deserted Oct. 1, '63.
Wilson, James B., 35, Barnstable, Aug. 5, '63, killed May 6, '64.
Wilson, Maurice, 28, Charlestown, July 22, '61, tr. to Co. F
Wray, James E., 26, Watertown, Mar. 14, '64, d. May 12, '64.

Transferred from the Nineteenth Massachusetts on January 14, 1864

Privates

Bird, Peter, m. July 16, '65.
Heill, Frank, m. July 16, '65.

Welch, Martin, m. July 16, '65.

Transferred from the Fifteenth Massachusetts on July 27, 1864

Sergeants

Coburn, Otis, d. June 12, '65.
Cudworth, Edward, m. July 16, '65.

Ford, William H., m. July 16, '65.

Richardson, John A., died June 21, '65.

Williams, George, m. July 16, '65.

Corporals

Armington, Samuel, m. July 16, '65.

Bemis, Edson D., d. f. d. July 13, '65.

Shaw, Charles L., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Dec. 19, '64.
Sullivan, John, m. July 16, '65.

Musicians

Craig, David, m. July 16, '65.

Matthews Isaac, m. July 16, '65.

Pharnes, John E., m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Acker, Elbridge, d. July 27, '65.
Ackerman, Charles, d. o. w. Nov. 1, '64.
Adams, Edwin L., d. f. d. Mar. 30, '65.
Adams, James H., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Adams, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Aldrich, Charles H., d. ex. t. July 29, '64.
Allen, Ethan, m. July 16, '65.
Allen, George W., d. ex. t. Feb. 2, '65.
Arnold, Charles H., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

Bachelder, Isaac G., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Baker, Henry A., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Barnes, Francis A., d. ex. t. Feb. 2, '65.
Barry, Joseph, d. ex. t. Dec. 4, '64.
Bartlett, Edward, m. July 16, '65. Absent in confinement.
Bartors, Charles H., d. ex. t. July 31, '64.
Bean, Charles W., m. July 16, '65.
Bishop, Jere W., d. ex. t. Dec. 4, '64.
Brainard, Robert, tr. to V. R. C.
Branner, Henry, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Breach, Thomas, m. July 16, '65.
Brewster, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent slck.
Broad, Amos W., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Brown, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Buckley, Michael, m. July 16, '65.
Burbank, Nathaniel, tr. to Dept. of the Gulf.
Burt, David, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Cady, Dyer D., d. ex. t. Aug. 6, '64.
Cane, Thomas, m. July 16, '65.

Canty, Owen, m. July 16, '65.
Cassidy, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Cassidy, George, tr. to V. R. C.
Chapman, Clinton A., d. May 3, '65.
Chausen, Ferdinand, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Cheeney, Herbert L., d. ex. t. Dec. 12, '64.
Clapp, Henry H., d. Apr. 28, '65. O. W. D.
Clarke, Charles, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. 21, '64.
Clifford, James, d. June 30, '65.
Coates, James, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Oct. 11, '64.
Collins, Thomas, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Copeland, Joseph, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. 21, '64.
Crawford, Wallace, d. June 5, '65. O. W. D.

Davidson, Henry L., m. July 16, '65.
Davis, Albert, d. May 5, '65.
Davis, George P., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Davis, James L., d. June 21, '65.
Dawson, Henry R., m. July 16, '65.
Dawson, Peter, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Dempsey, Patrick E., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Denift, Edward, m. July 16, '65.
Dimon, John H., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Dixon, John C., d. July 27, '65.
Donahue, Daniel, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Dowd, Joseph C., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

Eaton, Francis W., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Sept. 29, '64.

Fellows, Joseph E., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Mar. 29, '65.
Fish, George, d. June 27, '65. O. W. D.
Fisk, Francis W., m. July 16, '65.
Fitch, Charles M., d. June 30, '65.
Fitzpatrick, John, d. June 28, '65.
Foley, James, d. f. d. Oct. 22, '64.
French, Orrin A., died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Jan. 1, '65.
Frye, James, d. July 27, '65.
Fuller, Herbert, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Feb. 20, '65.

Garnett, William, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Oct. 6, '64.
Graveling, Alexander, d ex. t. Sept. 1, '64.
Grob, John, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Sept. 9, '64.

Newton, Edwin H., m. July 16, '65.

Ryan, Patrick, m. July 16, '65.

Sausie, Camille, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Shattuck, Joseph C., d. June 30, '65.

Sheridan, Patrick, m. July 16, '65.
Sherwood, Daniel, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Smith, Alfred, m. July 16, '65.
Smith, George, m. July 16, '65.
Smith, Henry, m. July 16, '65.
Smith, Henry E., m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Smith, John, m. July 16, '65.
Smith, John G., m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Squires, William, m. July 16, '65.
Stevens, Nicholas, m. July 16, '65.
Stone, Josiah, m. July 16, '65.
Sullivan, Jeremiah J., m. July 16, '65.
Swain, Robert B., deserted May 23, '65.

Tell, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Timmins, John, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. July 29, '64.

Vivarez, Jules, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Walsh, Thomas, d. f. d. June 20, '65.
Wilson, George, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Wilson, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Wood, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

COMPANY F

Sergeants

Adams, Charles H., 19, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.

Cane, Charles, 24, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, d. o. w. May 12, '64.

Decker, Ferdinand, 19, Boston, transferred from Co. B, d. f. d. July 17, '64.

Kelliher, John, 22, Bridgewater, July 26, '61, promoted 2d Lieut. Dec. 14, 62.
Kelly, Thomas H., 20, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Mar. 26, '63.

Murphy, James, 26, Roxbury, July 26, '61, promoted 2d Lieut. Nov. 8, '61.

O'Connor, Michael, 27, Ireland, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 26, '63.
O'Donovan, Jeremiah, 27, Boston, Mar. 19, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Quigley, Frank, 28, Watertown, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Oct. 20, '63.

Ronan, John, 20, Cambridge, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.

Shea, Dennis, 19, Milford, July 26, '61, promoted 1st Lieut. Mar. 4, '64.
Spencer, James H., 20, Taunton, Aug. 24, '61, pr. 1st Lieut. Sept. 9, '63.

Corporals

Gale, Moses H., 25, Bradford, Mar. 12, '62, d. July 14, '65.

McLaughlin, Eugene, 44, Boston, Sept. 18, '61, d. o. w. July 20, '63.
McNewland, Michael, 39, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 12, '62.

Powers, John, 21, Roxbury, July 18, '61, k. May 6, '64.

Musicians

Forrest, James, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 28, '63.

Hennessey, Thomas, 18, Dorchester, Apr. 2, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Mayo, Charles L., 16, Northboro, Feb. 25, '62, m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Adams, John, 35, Essex, Aug. 17, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Albans, Eugene, 23, Dorchester, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Albert, William, 19, Boston.
Alpen, Rudolph, 24, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. June 24, '64.
Amende, John, 34, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. May 6, '64.
Atwood, Anthony, 28, Aug. 23, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 26, '64.

Bauer, Robert, 25, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Beck, John P., 42, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Bennett, John C., 22, W Stockbridge, Apr. 27, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Berkeley, John, 22, Abington, Aug. 7, '63, d. May 18, '65. O. W. D.
Blood, Lyman R., 21, Watertown, Mar. 28, '64, k. Oct. 18, '64.
Bochet, Hugo, 25, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Bragg, Edward F., 26, Roxbury, July 21, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 12, '61.
Brenner, Michael, 19, Boston, Aug. 4, '63, d. f. d. Jan. 31, '63.
Bresney, Michael, 21, Boston, Aug. 18, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 21, '62.
Brogan, Dennis, 18, Milford, July 26, '61, tr. to Co. C, Sept. 3, '63.
Brown, James, 21, Conway, July 18, '63, deserted Apr. 24, '64.
Brown, John, 18, Boston, Feb. 21, '62, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Brual, Charles, 24, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Buck, Charles, 22, W. Stockbridge, Apr. 27, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Buckley, Timothy, 24, Canton, Aug. 11, '62, d. f. d. June 1, '63.

Cain, John, 23, Lowell, July 18, '61, deserted Aug. 28, '61.
Callaghan, Jeremiah, 25, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 13, '62.
Campbell, James, 30, Boston, Sept. 28, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 13, '63.
Campbell, William, 24, Malden, Feb. 22, '64, deserted Apr. 1, '64.
Canang, James, 25, Boston, Aug. 5, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 28, '62.
Carlin, John C., 21, Boston, July 26, '61. No further record.
Carroll, James, 19, Ireland, Aug. 29, '61, d. ex. t. July 28, '64.
Cass, Simon, 41, Boston, Sept. 16, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 15, '64.
Cassidy, Charles, 43, Charlestown, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 6, '62.
Chaney, Leonard, 19, Blackstone, Mar. 11, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Chaplin, Felix, 25, Barre, Apr. 2, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Chapman, George, 28, Fitchburg, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Chateauvert, Peter, 28, Boston, Mar. 11, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent in confinement.
Chism, William, 25, Salem, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Church, Stephen L., 38, Taunton, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 18, '62.
Collins, Dennis, 26, Boston, Aug. '62, tr. to Marine Corps, Aug. 19, '62.
Colter, John S., 22, Needham, Aug. 1, '62, d. Dec. 18, '62.
Conley, Michael, 30, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, deserted Aug. 18, '62.
Connor, Thomas, 21, Middleboro, Aug. 8, '63, tr. to Navy, Apr. 23, '64.
Constant, Francis, 23, Dorchester, Apr. 1, '64, d. July 6, '65.
Cronin, John, 21, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, k. June 22, '64.
Curtis, Henry, 26, W. Newbury, Dec. 2, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 15, '62.

Daley, Daniel, 41, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, tr. to V R. C. Aug. 22, '62.
Daley, Daniel, 25, Boston, Aug. 30, '62, d. ex. t., Aug. 6, '64.
Daley, John, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Dec. 14, '62.
Davis, Louis, 33, Dedham, Aug. 2, '61, d. Aug. 26, '61.
De Boir, Frederick, 25, Raynham, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Decker, Anton, 18, Boston, transferred from Co. C, died May 21, '65.
Devlin, John, 42, Cambridge, July 26, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Doherty, John F., 22, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Donovan, Daniel, 22, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Downes, Timothy, 21, Lowell, Mar. 21, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Feb. 9, '65.
Downey, Thomas, 40, Boston, Aug. 9, '62, k. Dec. 13, '62.
Downing, Patrick, 22, Boston, Aug. 30, '62, m. Aug. 1, '65. Absent sick.
Doyle, Daniel, 20, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 7, '62.
Doyle, John, 18, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, deserted Feb. 5, '65.
Drummey, Patrick, 22, Lawrence, Aug. 30, '62, deserted Feb. 29, '64.
Dugan, Timothy, 21, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, deserted July 4, '63.
Duncan, George, 18, Fitchburg, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Dunn, Andrew, 33, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 16, '61.

Eames, Edwin H., 17, Milford, Aug. 2, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Ellis, Andrew S., 27, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 24, '63.

Farren, John, 25, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Fee, Patrick, 21, Boston, Aug. 27, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 8, '64.
Fisher, Edward, 27, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, tr. to Co. E.
Flynn, James, 26, Boston, Aug. 6, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Flynn, Miles, 29, Milford, July 26, '61, deserted Dec. 4, '61.
Frendengburg, Edward H., 19, Wellfleet, July 21, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Fulmer, Robert, 20, Lawrence, July 8, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Gallen, Michael, 33, Milford, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '63.
Garharet, Francis, 45, Roxbury, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to Co. B.
Gennere, Lewis, 20, Montague, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Gepp, Henry, 26, Boston, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Gilman, Levi, 26, Roxbury, Sept. 30, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 11, '63.
Gilmore, Thomas, 35, Boston, Feb. 11, '65, m. July 16, '65.
Gray, Thomas R., 35, Boston, July 26, '61, d. ex. t. July 21, '64.
Gulwin, Thomas R., 35, Palmer, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.

Haines, George, 35, Barre, Apr. 2, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Hall, James, 28, Boston, Apr. 21, '64, deserted July 2, '65.
Hancock, John, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 28, '62.
Harrington, Timothy, 31, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, dishonorably d. by G. C. M. June 24, '63.
Harris, Robert C., 34, Barre, Aug. 5, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 10, '62.
Hartnett, Timothy, 44, Boston, Aug. 9, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 9, '63.
Heine, Heinrich, 21, Gloucester, Aug. 9, '63, deserted Sept. 20, '63.
Held, Otto, 24, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Hermon, Louis, 19, Boston, Feb. 29, '64, d. o. w. July 30, '64.
Hooper, Nathaniel P., 21, Boston, Sept. 16, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Huffman, William, 33, Athol, Apr. 4, '64, tr. to V. R. C.
Hughes, Arthur, 22, Georgetown, July 26, '61, d. ex. t. July 21, '64.
Huitte, Patrick, 18, Boston, tr. from Co. C, d. May 29, '65. O. W D.

Ingalls, William H., 24, Boston, tr. from Co. E, d. f. d. Aug. 1, '64.

Jacobsen, Carsten, 31, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Jenkins, Edward W., 25, Taunton, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Johnston, Arthur, 34, Boston, tr. from Co. E, m. July 16, '65.
Joy, Thomas, 26, Holliston, Apr. 6, '64, deserted July 23, '64.
Junghaw, August, 30, Boston, tr. from Co. C, June 13, '65, m. July 16, '65.

Kalleher, Cornelius, 23, Cambridge, July 22, '62, d. June 29, '65.
Keefe, John, 19, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, m. July 28, '65.
Keefe, Peter, 20, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Kelly, Charles, 24, W. Newbury, Dec. 2, '62, deserted Dec. 14, '62.
Kelly, John H., 37, Boston, Oct. 17, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 15, '64.
Kelly, Thomas, 20, Charlestown, Aug. 11, '62, died Jan. 5, '63.
Kendall, John H., 40, Boston, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '62.
Kenny, Patrick, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Kettendorf, Augustus, 21, Roxbury, Oct. 5, '61, d. ex. t. July 21, '64.
Kief, Patrick, 42, Boston, July 25, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 10, '62.
King, Thomas A., 23, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Apr. 24, '64.
Koch, Martin, 42, Roxbury, Aug. 14, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Lane, James, 45, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, k. July 3, '63.
Lawler, Christopher, 22, Boston, Aug. 29, '61. No further record.
Leahy, Patrick, 24, Boston, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 18, '63.
Ledu, Robert, 27, July 26, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Lehy, John, 45, Stoneham, Aug. 14, '62, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Leonard, David, 22, Boston, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Oct. 27, '63.
Leslie, Charles E., 21, Boston, Feb. 19, '64. Absent sick since May 21, '64.

Letty, Robert, 21, Boston, Sept. 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Nov. 16, '62.
Lewis, Henry P., 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Locke, Levi, 23, Boston, Feb. 29, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

McGregor, James, 34, Boston, Aug. 23, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '62.
McGuire, James, 21, Ashland, Mar. 4, '62, d. f. d. May 23, '63.
McGuire, Thomas, 18, Boston, d. f. d. Apr. 10, '63.
McLean, John, 23, Roxbury, Aug. 24, '61, d. o. w. July 20, '63.
McMann, James, 18, Boston, Oct. 8, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 5, '63.
McManus, Patrick, 30, Charlestown, Oct. 26, '63, tr. to V R. C. June 30, '65.
McMurray, James, 21, Lawrence, July 11, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
McVey, John F., 31, Roxbury, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 15, '62.
Manning, Thomas, 19, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Marshall, William, 21, Falmouth, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Mattrer, Lewis, 21, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Meaney, William, 22, Charlestown, Aug. 1, '62, tr. to V R. C. Oct. 26, '63.
Mennig, Christian, 22, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Mitchell, William, 27, Roxbury, Feb. 25, '64, discharged from confinement, Apr. 10, '66.
Mulroy, Martin, 33, Boston, July 26, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Myatt, Charles, 16, Grafton, Aug. 3, '63, k. May 6, '64.

Nary, John, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 10, '62.
Nary, John, 41, Boston, July 21, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 11, '62.

O'Brien, Daniel, 35, July 26, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
O'Connor, Dennis, 24, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, d. Apr. 5, '65.
O'Connor, Patrick, 27, July 26, '61, tr. to Co. A.
O'Hearn, Patrick, 18, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 28, '63.
Ohlenschlager, William, 23, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Oliver, Samuel K., 25, Milford, July 26, '61, d. ex. t. July 21, '64.
Otto, Adam, 21, E. Bridgewater, Aug. 7, '63, tr. to Co. H.
Otto, Simon, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, tr. to Co. C.

Parra, John, 22, Worcester, July 24, '63, died Mar. 13, '64.
Patterson, William, 20, Boston, tr. from Co. H, deserted Aug. 20, '63.
Pedere, Patrick, 19, Milford, July 26, '61, m. Aug. 6, '64.
Purcell, Michael, 39, Boston, Aug. 20, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 16, '63.

Quinlan, Patrick, 28, Boston, July 18, '61, k. July 3, '63.

Rahe, Herrman, 31, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Rauch, Lewis, 33, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. July 24, '65.
Ready, Michael, 32, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Reagg, Mathias, 36, Springfield, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Riley, Felix, 19, July 26, '61, d. o. w. July 20, '63.
Riley, John, 38, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 28, '62.
Roach, Martin, 42, Boston, July 23, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 17, '63.
Roach, Matthew, 35, Boston, Aug. 4, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 10, '62.

Rockman, Frederick, 39, Northampton, June 6,'64, m. July 16,'65. Absent sick.
Rose, Louis, 25, Medford, Aug. 7, '63, tr. to V R. C.
Rosenan, Charles, 22, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Ross, James, 19, Salisbury, Aug. 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Rowland, Morris, 24, Roxbury, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '63.
Russell, George W., 20, Barre, Apr. 2, '64, dishonorably d.

Santer, Christopher, 22, Boston, Aug. 27, '61, died June 17, '62.
Schoeffle, John J., 24, Roxbury, Aug. 21, '61, d. ex. t. June 22, '64.
Schwabe, Henry, 35, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Seaver, James, 21, Charlestown, Aug. 2, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.
Shields, Farrell, 22, Colrain, tr. from Co. A, deserted Sept. 20, '63.
Slocumb, Robert, 23, Greenfield, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Smith, James, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy.
Smith, James, 32, Northbridge, Aug. 3, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Smith, James, 19, Boston, Sept. 11, '61, died June 17, '62.
Smith, John, 18, Ireland, July 18, '61, d. o. w. June 29, '64.
Sternberg, Henry F., 29, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Sullivan, Eugene, 19, Boston, Aug. 20, '62, d. Jan. 15, '65.
Sullivan, James, 40, Boston, Apr. 1, '62, k. Dec. 13, '62.
Sullivan, Michael J., 19, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 17, '62.

Thompson, Josephus, 38, Abington, July 18, '61, d. f. d. June 17, '62.
Tolbert, William E., 18, Ashfield, Mar. 30, '64, k. June 24, '64.
Torrance, Moses, 21, Boston, May 11, '64, deserted Jan. 27, '65.
Trembly, Christopher, 35, Tisbury, tr. from Co. C. June 13, '65, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
True, Charles B., 21, Boston, Sept. 18, '62, deserted Feb. 2, '63.
Twiggs, Thomas, 19, Ireland, Aug. 2, '61, d. Aug. 1, '64.

Unreihn, Carl, 20, tr. from Co. C. June 15, '65, m. July 16, '65.

Veillard, John, 35, Boston, tr. from Co. B., d. July 1, '65. O. W. D.

Wade, Terrence, 21, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, deserted Aug. 16, '63.
Walker, John, 20, Gloucester, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Oct. 6, '63.
Walton, Charles, 23, Springfield, July 1, '64, d. Aug. 21, '65.
Ward, Thomas L., 21, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 20, '64.
Warren, George, 23, Ashfield, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Wells, John, 23, Boston, Aug. 4, '62, d. June 8, '65.
Welsh, George, 21, Boston, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65.
White, William, 23, Boston, July 28, '62, d. from confinement by order G. C. M. July 24, '65.
Williams, Evan, 26, Quincy, Aug. 27, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 18, '63.
Williams, Ribert, 25, Barnstable, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Wilson, John, 38, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 9, '63.
Wilson, Maurice, 28, Charlestown, tr. from Co. E., d. ex. t. July 21, '64.
Woodman, Thomas, 25, Boston, Aug. 30, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.

Zeitz, Herman, 28, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, missing since May 5, '64.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Corporal

Bartley, Frank, m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Crawford, Duncan, tr. to Navy Apr. 23, '64.

Davis, John, tr. to Navy Apr. 23, '64.
Doherty, Edward C., m. July 16, '65.

Ferguson, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Fischer, John, tr. to Navy Apr. 23, '64.

Gahagan, Nicholas, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Green, Andrew B., d. f. d. Aug. 17, '64.

Hagedon, Heinrich, d. July 3, '65.

Johnson, William, m. July 16, '65.

Perkins, Hazen K., d. June 21, '65.

Rinaldo, John B., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Waldeck, Louis, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Waters, Thomas, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Williams, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent in confinement.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates

Maguire, Terrance, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Maxwell, Charles S., d. June 22, '65.
Murphy, James, tr. to Navy Apr. 23, '64.

COMPANY G

Sergeants

Beckwith, Robert S., 21, Aug. 24, '61, pro. Sergt. Maj. June 22, '62.
Bugney, George A., 22, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. I Sept. 8, '61.

McKay, Thomas M., 24, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, pro. 2d Lieut. Sept. 5, '62.
Mellen, Emery A., 24, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, drowned Oct. 21, '61.

Robinson, Charles H., 22, Reading, Aug. 30, '61, pro. Sergt. Maj. Oct. 1, '62.

Walker, William N., 20, Nov. 1, '62, pro. Sergt. Maj. Sept. 17, '62.
Walsh, Patrick, 25, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Mar. 31, '63.

Corporals

Allen, Frederick S., 20, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. o. w. Oct. 25, '62.

Handley, Herbert, 21, New Bedford, July 18, '61, accidentally killed Sept. 4, '61.
Harlow, Reuben, 42, Easton, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 20, '61.

Jones, Charles E., 22, Gloucester, Aug. 7, '63, k. May 5, '64.

Powers, John, 29, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1.

Simpson, George E., 25, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.

Tripp, Ebenezer, 30, Mattapoisett, Aug. 2, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.

Waite, Reuben H., 23, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '63.
White, John, 28, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 6, '63 as private.

Yeager, Joseph, 19, New Bedford, Aug. 12, '61, m. July 16, '61.

Musician

Lovejoy, Joseph, 18, Lowell, July 18, '61, pro. Principal Musician Sept. 1, '63.

Wagoners

Draper, Daniel H., 35, Milford, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to Co. D.

Tripp, John Q. A., 35, Wareham, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 18, '63.

Privates

Aie, George, 24, Springfield, July 11, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Armstrong, James, 22, Springfield, July 11, '64, dropped June 12, '65.

Barry, Edward, 31, Boston, July 18, '61, killed July 2, '63.
Barry, Edward, 23, Lowell, July 18, '61, deserted Aug. 25, '61.
Berneuher, Frank A., 43, New Bedford, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 15, '63.
Bixby, Henry, 31, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. May 29, '62.
Boyer, William, 22, Springfield, July 11, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Brunt, John, 33, Athol, Apr. 2, '64, missing since June 4, '64.
Buassahan, Timothy, 38, Boston, Dec. 11, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 30, '62.
Burke, Patrick L., 35, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, d. o. w. Nov. 18, '61.

Chase, Ezra D., 21, New Bedford, July 18, '61, k. June 9, '64.
Coughlin, Patrick, 20, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. H.
Coyne, Joseph, 30, Greenfield, m. July 16, '65.
Crowley, Patrick, 19, Lowell, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. B.
Cue, Owen, 20, Bloomfield, July 10, '61, k. May 6, '64.

Dolan, John, 35, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. May 3, '62.
Driscoll, John, 18, Boston, Dec. 11, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 7, '63.
Dunbrack, George G., 39, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.

Franklin, James, 21, Roxbury, Apr. 13, '64, missing since June 4, '64.

Galvin, Timothy, 35, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.
Gilman, Edward G., 35, New Bedford, Aug. 2, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 1, '62.
Glacken, Thomas, 18, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. D.
Good, William, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Aug. 6, '61.
Goodman, John, 37, Braintree, Sept. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Sept. 3, '64.
Griffa, Guiseppa, 30, Boston, July 31, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Griffin, John H., 30, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Aug. 10, '61.
Griffin, Lawrence, 21, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.

Hanley, Patrick, 21, Lakeville, Aug. 8, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.
Hardman, James, 27, Salem, July 3, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Hawes, William, 21, Medway, July 18, '61, deserted June 30, '63.
Hayes, James, 21, Boston, July 4, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 15, '63.
Hoffman, Henry, 27, m. July 16, '65.
Holzheimer, Caspar, 36, Marion, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 25, '63.
Horne, James, 43, Greenfield, July 18, '63, k. May 12, '64.
Howe, James, 35, Marblehead, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. May 7, '63.
Hunt, Charles H., 20, New Bedford, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. H. July 1, '65.

Jackson, John, 41, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, missing since May 6, '64.
Jenny, Charles M., 19, Fairhaven, Dec. 13, '61, died Aug. 1, '62.
Johnston, William A., 22, Lowell, Feb. 14, '62, k. May 18, '64.
Jones, George H., 19, Springfield, transferred from Co. A, deserted July 17, '63.

Kavanaugh, Bernard, 19, July 18, '61, died Aug. 24, '62.
Kelly, Edward, 22, Ashfield, July 18, '63, deserted Mar. 6, '64.
Kelly, John, 21, Fitchburg, July 11, '64, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C., Oct. 24, '64.
Kelly, Robert, 27, Millbury, Aug. 5, '63, k. May, '64.
Kennedy, James, 26, Boston, Sept. 11, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 7, '62.
Kilpatrick, William, 22, Marblehead, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.
Kingsley, Joseph B., 41, Roxbury, Sept. 11, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 7, '62.
Krook, Lambertus W., 19, Reading, Feb. 11, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Jan. 15, '64.

Laflin, Hiram, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Lawson, George, 37, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 14, '63.
Lechbrum, Christian, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, d. f. d. Feb. 6, '65.
Leeming, James, 28, Marion, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Dec. 9, '63.
Lewis, Charles C., 22, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, given furlough for 30 days on Jan. 2, '65. No further record.
Lively, John, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Aug. 26, '61.

McAuliffe, Cornelius, 18, Boston, Mar. 2, '64, d. f. d. Apr. 26, '64.
McCormick, John A., 23, Greenfield, July 2, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

McCoy, Michael, 33, Marblehead, Feb. 21, '62, died Aug. 26, '62.
McDonald, Angus, 24, Melrose, Dec. 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 20, '62.
McDonough, Patrick, 31, Boston, Aug. 8, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
McFaul, Thomas, 30, Malden, May 20, '64, k. June 22, '64.
McGinness, James, 23, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted July 17, '63.
McGoldrick, John, 40, Roxbury, Aug. 2, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
McKay, John P., 30, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, drowned Oct. 21, '61.
McLaughlin, Thomas, 22, New Bedford, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Feb. 17, '64.
McNabb, Thomas, 30, Springfield, July 9, '63, dropped June 12, '65.
Madigan, James, 30, Wareham, Dec. 1, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 6, '62.
Marsh, William, 21, Carver, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.
Marshall, James L., 23, Boston, Aug. 2, '62, deserted Aug. 26, '62.
Meader, George H., 18, Aug. 8, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Metro, William, 22, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, missing since May 5, '64.
Miller, Carl, 26, Medford, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 25, '63.
Miller, Like, 32, New Bedford, Aug. 8, '61, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 1, '64.
Moran, James, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Nov. 3, '62.
Murphy, John, 22, Boston, Oct. 15, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 9, '63.

Noonan, Edward, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. C.
Noonan, John, 39, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 21, '65.

O'Brien, James, 27, Boston, Aug. 18, '62, k. July 2, '63.
Owens, Felix, 22, New Bedford, July 18, '61, no further record.

Patty, Michael, 20, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 19, '63.
Paulett, Albert A., 21, Boston, Mar. 24, '62, d. June 27, '65. O. W. D.
Paulin, Samuel K., 25, Beverly, Mar. 24, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 14, '62.
Peckham, Anson P., 20, Dana, Jan. 2, '64, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 22, '64.
Peitz, Henry C. A., 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Pentonay, Michael, 40, Boston, Dec. 17, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 9, '63.
Perry, Oscar S., 18, Yarmouth, Mar. 9, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Pitts, George W., 28, Taunton, July 30, '63, deserted Oct. '64.
Pontius, Frederick A., 29, Somerset, July 29, '63, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 17, '64.
Prince, James, 19, Whateley, June 30, '64, dropped June 12, '65.

Quinlan, Patrick, 30, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 2, '63.

Roach, Daniel J., 21, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Root, David, 21, W Stockbridge, Dec. 15, '61, k. June 20, '63.
Russell, James, 21, Lynn, July 12, '64, dropped June 12, '65.
Ryan, William, 30, Boston, July 15, '63, no further record.

Sawyer, Alvin, 19, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 20, '61.
Shine, Dennis, 22, Boston, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 1, '61.
Simpson, George E., 19, New Bedford, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 4, '62.

Smith, John, 45, July 18, '61, d. Aug. 16, '61.
Stetson, Alonzo L., 23, Randolph, Mar. 12, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 29, '63.
Sweeney, Morgan, 20, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, k. July 2, '63.

Trener, Frank, 25, Boston, Mar. 5, '64, deserted Mar. 28, '64.

Walch, David, 23, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 8, '63.
Wells, John, 21, Ashland, Sept. 19, '64, d. June 8, '65. O. W D.
Whiting, Hiram L., 35, Abington, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 29, '63.
Whitney, Bernard, 24, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864.

Privates

Casey, Edward A., dropped June 12, '65.
Conlace, John, dropped June 12, '65.

White, Joseph A., died Mar. 11, '64.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Sergeants

Harty, Patrick, d. June 2, '65.
Houghton, Henry, d. f. d. July 10, '65.

Kinkup, James S., promoted Oct. 1, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Logue, John S., m. July 16, '65.

Corporals

Gibson, James B., m. July 16, '65.

Hawley, George A., d. Dec. 10, '64.

Wallace, David O., died a prisoner at Florence, S. C., Feb. 4, '65.

Wagoner

Whittemore, Henry S., m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Alger, Warren H., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. '64.
Allen, Thomas, m. July 16, '65.

Cutler, Charles H., tr. to V. R. C. June 26, '65.

Gee, Edward G., d. June 7, '65. O. W. D.
Givan, John C., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 6, '64.

Gleason, Josiah, d. July 20, '65.
Goodwin, Alfred M., died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C., Sept. 1, '64.
Goulding, Edwin.
Gowbig, Herman, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Greenleaf, Ezra L., m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Greenwood, Henry, tr. to Signal Corps.
Guilfoyle, Daniel, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. 15, '64.

Heath, Alfred B., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Hickson, Richard, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Hodge, Abram, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Hudson, Archibald B., d. July 24, '65.
Hunt, Joseph, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Hurlburt, Charles H., m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

Johnson, Richard M., m. July 16, '65.
Joy, Emory W., m. July 16, '65.

Keenan, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Kinkup, James S., pr. Sergt. Oct. 1, '64.

Lake, John G., d. May 21, '65. O. W. D.
Lamb, Charles H., m. July 16, '65.
Langdon, Horace G., d. May 3, '65. O. W D.
Lawler, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Lawrence, Walter, tr. to V R. C.
Lines, William, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Lyon, James, m. July 16, '65.

McCouche, George, tr. to V R. C. Apr. 17, '65.
McCue, John, d. May 30, '65. O. W. D.
McGovern, Daniel, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
McHugh, Patrick, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
McInness, Daniel, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
McIntire, Orlando, m. July 16, '65.
McKnight, Adam, m. July 16, '65.
McLean, Archibald, m. July 16, '65. Absent.
McNulty, Patrick, m. July 16, '65.
Madden, Robert, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Maier, Herman, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Maley, Robert, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Maple, Frederick T., m. July 16, '65.
Martin, John, m. July 16, '65.
Mason, Joseph, d. f. d. Mar. 18, '65.
May, Charles F., d. July 13, '65.
Mayer, Henry, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Merrifield, Frank H., m. July 16, '65.
Moran, Thomas, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Morath, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

More, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Moulton, Harrison, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Jan. 25, '65.
Mulvaney, Patrick, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Dec. 10, '64.
Murphy, John 2d, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Newcomb, George B., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Aug. 27, '64.
Newton, Oliver W., d. f. d. July 5, '65.

O'Brien, Robert, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
O'Connell, John J., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Nov. 27, '64.
O'Neil, Joseph, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.

Peacock, Adam, m. July 16, '65.
Pecot, Joseph, d. ex. t. Jan. 28, '65.
Pope, Francis C., died Feb. 15, '65.

Quinn, James, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. July 29, '64.

Raphel, Charles, deserted Dec. 31, '63, as of Co. G, 20th.
Rattigan, Patrick, m. July 16, '65.
Ray, James, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Reed, Henry, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Riley, Terrance, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Ritter, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Ryan, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.

Spicer, Alexander, d. June 21, '65. O. W. D.

COMPANY H

Sergeants

Armstrong, Thomas, 19, Andover, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 20, '63.

Burrill, Henry C., 31, Lynn, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 8, '63.

Doyle, John, 19, Marblehead, Aug. 23, '61, m. July 16, '65.

Keith, Friend H., 33, Thomaston, Me., Aug. 24, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.

Longfellow, Stephen, 28, Brookline, Sept. 5, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 30, '65.

Hunt, Charles H., 20, Cambridge, tr. from Co. G, July 1, '65, m. July 16, '65.

Pousland, Thomas J., 36, Beverly, Aug. 21, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. Apr. 12, '62.
Powers, William, 21, Canton, Aug. 15, '61, d. July 18, '64.

Reid, William H. P., 36, Nashua, N. H., July 18, '61, deserted Mar. '62.

White, George, 23, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '61, deserted Aug. 27, '63.

Corporals

Coughlin, Patrick, 20, Boston, tr. from Co. G, d. f. d. July 14, '65.

Fairbanks, Henry A., 19, Haverhill, Sept. 4, '61, k. May 6, '64.
Fraser, Joshua H., 23, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, d. Aug. 24, '64.

Johnson, John R., 25, Montgomery, Vt., July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 27, '63.

McCarty, Charles, 22, Boston, Feb. 22, '62, m. July 16, '65.

Powers, John C., 26, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. June 12, '63.
Powers, Joseph B., 32, Marblehead, Sept. 4, '64, d. f. d. Jan. 9, '63.

Musicians

Gallagher, Edward, 20, Boston, May 2, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Stevens, John, 18, Topsfield, Aug. 23, '61, died a prisoner at Florence, S. C. Date or cause of death not known.

Wagoner

Heath, Reuben P., 33, Haverhill, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '62.

Privates

Ackerson, Alpheus, 26, Cambridge, Aug. 14, '61, deserted Feb. 2, '63.
Allbright, Henry, 32, Reading, Pa., Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '63.
Alley, Jacob H., 27, Marblehead, Aug. 24, '61, died Mar. 12, '62.
Alley, Nathaniel Q., 44, Lynn, Sept. 23, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 21, '63.
Armington, Josiah, 35, Harwich, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 4, '62.

Babcock, George W., 27, Beverly, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 13, '62.
Balch, George W., 23, Haverhill, Dec. 31, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 20, '63.
Barron, James, 23, Aug. 6, '63, d. June 11, '65. O. W. D.
Bertha, Carl, 27, July 1, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Blain, Hugh, 33, Boston, July 3, '62, k. July 3, '63.
Blood, Nathan W., Jr., 35, Boston, Dec. 31, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 25, '62.
Bosworth, Eliphalet W., 26, New York, July 17, '62, died of disease, Oct. 21, '62.
Brewer, Henry W., 20, Worcester, Sept. 4, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Briggs, Edwin F., 20, Boston, Oct. 8, '61. No further record.
Busham, George, 21, July 4, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Busner, James, 33, July 12, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.

Callahan, Charles H., 28, Andover, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 14, '62.
Carroll, George H., 23, Lynn, Aug. 6, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 25, '62.
Caruthers, Noble, 45, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 5, '63.
Clancy, Maurice, 35, Boston, Aug. 29, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 11, '63.
Clark, James, 23, Canton, Aug. 4, '61, deserted Oct. 10, '62.
Cofran, Smith W., 21, Northfield, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 12, '63.

Colby, Shern, 28, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Collins, Stephen, 39, Boston, Aug. 29, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 5, '63.
Cook, Sylvester, 35, Cheshire, Sept. 1, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 30, '62.
Corbett, John, 38, Pittsfield, Sept. 1, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 25, '62.
Cowgill, Charles, 25, Aug. 29, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. Dec. 14, '62.
Coyle, William, 33, Boston, July 2, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Cressey, Leonard, 18, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Curtis, Isaac, 44, Roxbury, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 10, '63.
Curtis, Isaac, Jr., 16, Roxbury, Feb. 14, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 30, '62.

Daly, Thomas, 19, Boston, May 10, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 10, '63.
Davis, Frank W., 26, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 21, '63.
Day, John T., 35, Cambridge, Aug. 10, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Devlin, Alexander, 30, Lynn, Dec. 31, '61, d. o. w. June 2, '62.
Dixon, David, 23, Newton, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 10, '61.
Donahue, Cornelius, 25, Lawrence, Aug. 7, '61, dishonorably d. Mar. 16, '65. O. W. D.
Donnelly, Thomas, 22, Holliston, July 17, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Donovan, Thomas, 38, Cambridge, Sept. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 27, '64.
Douglas, William, 22, Boston, June 22, '62, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Douglas, William S., 21, Randolph, Jan. 30, '62, deserted Dec. 2, '62.
Duffie, William, 28, Topsfield, July 26, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Duffin, Thomas, 23, S. Reading, Jan. 17, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Dunn, Edward P., 22, Boston, July 26, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Dwyer, John, 26, Boston, July 24, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.

Early, Edward, 18, Boston, Dec. 28, '61, d. ex. t. Dec. 29, '64.
Evans, Richard, 22, Boston, Apr. 18, '64, k. May 7, '64.

Fahey, John, 22, Walpole, Aug. 8, '61, deserted Aug. 22, '61.
Feathergill, George W., 44, Pittsfield, Dec. 26, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 25, '63.
Feeley, Patrick, 22, Boston, July 13, '64, d. Aug. 17, '65.
Flanders, George C., 28, Concord, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 30, '62.
Flynn, John, 18, Reading, Aug. 24, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Foley, Daniel, 21, Abington, Aug. 1, '61, d. f. d. July 8, '64.
Foley, Patrick, 24, Boston, July 13, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Foley, Patrick, 21, Mar. 14, '62, deserted July 28, '62.
Folsom, Eben H., 40, Aug. 23, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 23, '64.
Folsom, James, 27, Roxbury, Oct. 15, '61, d. ex. t. Oct. 10, '64.
Folsom, Hillman, 25, Roxbury, Oct. 15, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 23, '64.
Ford, Edwin C., 22, W. Roxbury, Jan. 30, '62, d. ex. t. July 28, '65.
Ford, John C., 26, Abington, Dec. 31, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '62.
Foster, Charles A., 18, Aug. 30, '61, k. June 1, '62.
French, James, 21, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
French, William, Jr., 43, Pittsfield, Dec. 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 14, '62.

Gardner, Richard L., 35, Marblehead, Sept. 4, '61, d. o. w. May 16, '64.
Gilman, Edward, 42, Boston, Aug. 2, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 2, '64.
Goodwin, Gardner, 20, Marblehead, Aug. 28, '62, d. o. w. May 20, '64.

Gordon, Samuel H., 23, Lynn, Aug. 26, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Graham, Thomas, 21, Boston, Dec. 18, '61, deserted Feb. 2, '63.
Green, Robert, 23, Boston, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Grieve, Robert, 21, Marblehead, Feb. 19, '62, d. o. w. June 29, '62.

Haley, John, 32, Lynn, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Hall, Austin, 18, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '63.
Hamblin, Leander D., 20, Watertown, Dec. 26, '61, deserted July 1, '63.
Haridy, John, 34, Boston, Dec. 13, '61, d. ex. t. Dec. 13, '64.
Harkins, Bernard, 33, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 23, '63.
Harvey, Thomas, 23, Boston, July 7, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Hathaway, William, 18, Chelsea, July 31, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '62.
Homer, William H., 17, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Hood, John C., 26, Boston, Dec. 31, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 13, '62.
Hopkins, John, 21, Ireland, Aug. 15, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 15, '62.
Horan, John, 28, Watertown, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Hutchins, William F., 18, Boston, Aug. 2, '62, died Nov. 18, '62.

Ingalls, Abner, 21, Lynn, Aug. 18, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 20, '62.

James, George, 23, Boston, July 31, '63, absent sick since Oct. 10, '64. No further record.

Kane, Patrick, 30, Boston, July 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Kearny, William, 33, Cambridge, Aug. 21, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 26, '62.
Kelty, Peter, 21, Cambridge, July 24, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 19, '63.
Kennedy, Martin, 24, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. July 18, '62.
Kenny, Daniel, 22, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, d. June 5, '65.
Kershaw, Samuel, 30, Salem, Dec. 13, '61, d. Mar. 23, '63.
Kerwick, Andrew, 21, Cambridge, Aug. 21, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 5, '63.
Kief, John, 21, Lonsdale, R. I., Aug. 4, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 3, '64.
Kirby, Benjamin, 44, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 24, '63.
Kirk, James, 21, Boston, Dec. 26, '61, d. ex. t. Dec. 29, '64.
Krook, Mathias H., 18, Cambridge, Feb. 11, '62, d. Feb. 17, '64.

Lane, Andrew J., 24, Sandwich, Sept. 23, '62, deserted July 1, '63.
Leach, George W., 30, Boston, Sept. 1, '62, pr. Sergt. Maj. May 24, '63.
Lee, John, 27, New Bedford, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Leonard, John, 29, Boston, Aug. 5, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 30, '63.
Lew, Thomas, 33, Pittsfield, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 5, '62.
Littlejohn, John, 21, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Long, Edward, 20, Abington, Aug. 7, '63, d. to accept commission in 15th U. S. C. T. May 10, '65.
Lucas, Frederick A., 30, Saco, Me., Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 7, '63.
Lynch, James, 26, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, died of disease Dec. 7, '62.
Lyons, John W., 24, Randolph, Jan. 30, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 28, '64.

McAlerey, Charles, 18, Boston, Aug. 25, '62, d. May 20, '62.
McCafferty, Neal, 21, Salem, Dec. 31, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 28, '62.

McCarty, Thomas, 22, Boston, July 13, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
McDonald, George H., 30, Bangor, Me., July 18, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
McDonough, Michael, 32, Boston, Aug. 9, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
McGuire, John, 22, Taunton, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Nov. 12, '63.
McKenna, James, 25, Boston, Aug. 4, '61, deserted Aug. 27, '62.
McKenney, Robert, 32, Danvers, Dec. 20, '61, d. July 27, '65.
McNamara, Michael, 27, Salem, Dec. 23, '61, d. o. w. Oct. 15, '62.
McPhee, Donald, 26, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 21, '63.
Mack, Thomas F., 35, Waltham, July 24, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 5, '62.
Mahoney, James, 19, Cambridge, Apr. 1, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Marshall, Joseph, Jr., 19, Boston, Mar. 9, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Merrigan, John, 22, Halifax, Aug. 8, '63, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 4, '63.
Merrill, John H., 40, Boston, Sept. 3, '62, k. May 6, '64.
Monahan, Cornelius, 35, Fitchburg, Sept. 15, '61, tr. to V R. C.
Morrill, John W., 21, Aug. 29, '61, m. Aug. 28, '64.
Murray, James A., 24, Lynn, Aug. 21, '61, deserted Aug. 27, '62.
Murray, Patrick, 25, Worcester, Aug. 5, '63, d. July 27, '65.
Neary, John, 21, Barnstable, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Nelligan, Michael, 21, Wareham, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Newell, Charles O., 18, Salem, Aug. 1, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Nolan, William, 24, Springfield, July 11, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.

O'Brien, Thomas, 21, Gloucester, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 1, '63.
O'Connor, Daniel, 42, Boston, July 21, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 1, '63.
Oliver, Thomas, 32, Marblehead, Sept. 4, '61, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Feb. 22, '64.
Ott, Adam, 21, N. Bridgewater, tr. from Co. F, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Otto, Adolph, 35, Barnstable, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 12, '63.

Paffrath, Albert, 21, Dennis, Aug. 5, '63, k. May 6, '64.
Pajol, Louis, 28, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 30, '63.
Patterson, William, 20, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. F.
Perry, John, 25, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, died Mar. 23, '64.
Pervere, George W., 21, Haverhill, Aug. 8, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 7, '63.
Pervere, James K., 20, Haverhill, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Artillery, Oct. 23, '62.
Petit, Joseph, 26, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Sept. 3, '63.
Platte, William, 21, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, k. May 6, '64.
Porter, James, 20, Essex, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 2, '63.
Price, Philip, 21, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Sept. 12, '63.

Quimbly, John W., 24, Lynn, Aug. 24, '61, d. Aug. 23, '64.

Rich, Josiah P., 34, Bedford, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 12, '62.
Richards, Tolman C., 28, Roxbury, Oct. 15, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 6, '63.
Ricketson, Charles, 39, Rochester, Sept. 1, '62, d. Sept. 17, '64.
Rogers, Peter, 22, Ashfield, July 18, '63, tr. to 28th Mass. Aug. 27, '63.
Ross, John H., 19, Cambridge, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 9, '62.
Rourke, James, 24, Boston, Aug. 23, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Rumney, Joseph F., 33, Haverhill, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. May 13, '62.

Schiller, William, 19, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. May 6, '64.
Schumacher, William, 35, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. May 10, '64.
Shanahan, Daniel, 18, Wareham, Aug. 6, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Sline, Richard, 24, Lawrence, Aug. 21, '61, deserted June 25, '62.
Sloeman, John C., 21, Roxbury, July 26, '61, tr. to V R. C. Nov. 5, '63.
Smith, James A., 33, Boston, Aug. 11, '62, deserted Sept. 22, '64.
Smith, William J., 19, Salem, Dec. 7, '61, k. May 3, '63.
Spicer, Christian, 33, Lawrence, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to V R. C. Aug. 19, '63.
Stearns, John M., 27, Douglas, July 31, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 21, '62.
Sullivan, Jeremiah, 32, Wareham, Dec. 11, '61, m. July 16, '65.

Tasker, William, 33, Boston, Sept. 3, '62, d. o. w. Dec. 30, '62.
Taunt, Warren, 28, Randolph, Dec. 18, '61, deserted June 20, '63.
Taylor, Charles, 26, Springfield, July 11, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Tenna, John A., 44, Pittsfield, Sept. 1, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 20, '62.
Tenney, Benjamin P., 37, Newburyport, Aug. 24, '61, tr. to V R. C. July 16, '64.
Tobin, James, 23, Cambridge, Aug. 10, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 15, '62.
Tucker, Darby, 21, Marblehead, Dec. 28, '61, k. May 6, '64.
Twiggs, Edwin F., 20, Readville, Oct. 8, '61, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 18, '63.

Vinnarke, Michael, 29, Boston, Jan. 2, '62, k. July 3, '63.

Walch, John, 43, Boston, Sept. 21, '62, deserted July 8, '63.
Walton, Henry, 21, Springfield, July 11, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Warren, Charles A., 18, Beverly, Aug. 29, '61, k. May 12, '64.
Warren, William W., 45, Boston, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 7, '63.
Waugh, Peter, 21, Holliston, Aug. 21, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Welch, Thomas W., 34, Boston, Apr. 8, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Welsh, John, 34, Shutesbury, July 18, '63, deserted Nov. 8, '63.
Welton, Edward, 22, Roxbury, Aug. 20, '61, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Whelan, William, 20, Boston, July 13, '64, d. Apr. 28, '65.
Wiley, Timothy, 28, Lowell, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Wilson, William, 19, Boston, Aug. 19, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent in arrest.
Winslow, Edward, 27, Truro, Dec. 26, '61, d. o. w. Dec. 30, '62.
Wood, George, 21, Boston, July 10, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Wood, John, 26, Sandwich, Sept. 23, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 21, '63.
Woods, George W., 42, Boston, Sept. 12, '62, d. f. d. July 8, '63.
Woodward, William, 43, Haverhill, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 22, '63.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Privates

Benedict, James, m. July 16, '65.

Devine, Francis, m. July 16, '65.

Eldridge, James, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

Haris, Charles, k. May 6, '64.

Laurich, John, m. July 16, '65.
Lucius, Jeremiah, deserted Jan. 24, '64.
Lynch, James, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.

McCarty, Florence, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Mortimer, Charles, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Morton, Philip, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.

Wheeling, John, m. July 16, '65.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates.

McDonald, John, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Martzotte, Lewis, m. July 16, '65.

Rolle, Alfred.

Wild, Thomas, d. Apr. 28, '65.

COMPANY I

Sergeants

Alley, Leander F., 28, Nantucket, July 18, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. Aug. 29, '62.

Bate, Andrew J., 19, Cambridge, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 26, '62.
Bogue, Edward, 27, Lowell, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 28, '63.
Bugney, George A., 22, Boston, tr. from Co. G, Sept. 8, '61, deserted June 15, '62.

Day, Orrin, 34, Boston, tr. from Co. K, d. f. d. July 26, '64.

Fuller, Henry A., 31, Dorchester, Dec. 31, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. June 5, '65.

Hollis, Thomas, 24, Sandwich, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 6, '63.

Kelly, William P., 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, died a prisoner at Wilmington, N. C. Mar. 5, '65.

Murphy, Josiah F., 19, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.

Newell, Charles O., 18, Salem, tr. from Co. H, m. July 16, '65.

Riddle, William R., 29, Boston, July 26, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. Oct. 9, '61.

Wheldon, John F., 23, Walpole, Aug. 16, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent.

Corporals

Baker, Charles H., 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, pr. Q. M. Sergt. Nov. 26, '61.

Hastings, George A., 22, Deerfield, tr. from Co. K, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Jan. 15, '65.

Manning, William E., 20, Ashfield, July 18, '63, d. f. d. June 10, '65.

Pratt, George C., 20, Nantucket, July 18, '61, tr. to V R. C. Nov. 15, '63.

Green, Edward P., 21, Nantucket, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.

Randall, Edward W., 18, Nantucket, July 19, '62, died Mar. '65.

Shaw, George N., 23, Boston, Aug. 18, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 10, '62.
Smith, David A., 18, Greenfield, tr. from Co. K, m. July 16, '65.

Whitford, Benjamin H., 33, Nantucket, July 31, '61, pro. Hosp. Stew. Sept. 10, '62.
Williams, Peter, 18, Roxbury, Aug. 8, '61, died a prisoner at Salisbury, N. C. Dec. '64.

Musicians

Crocker, Charles M., 18, Nantucket, Feb. 29, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Davis, Thomas, 20, Sandwich, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 11, '63.

Lanergan, Patrick, 18, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, pr. Q. M. Sergt. Nov. 11, '64.

McAndrews, John, 16, Boston, Nov. 26, '61, d. ex. t. Nov. 25, '64.
McChristal, James, 18, Cambridge, Jan. 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Wagoner

Gray, George, 36, Waltham, Aug. 29, '61, pr. Hosp. Stew. Jan. 1, '64.

Privates

Adams, John, 21, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Ahearn, Thomas, 24, Boston, Aug. 18, '62. No further record.
Alexander, Edward, 19, Nantucket, July 18, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Andrews, Frank, 22, Ashfield, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Apiam, Thomas, 34, Boston, Aug. 18, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent.
Arling, Alonzo, 18, Charlestown, Dec. 7, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Armand, Thomas, 21, Charlestown, July 13, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.

Babo, Henry, 26, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent.
Backus, Erwin, 27, Nantucket, July 26, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Backus, George A., 19, Nantucket, Aug. 5, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Bacon, Robert, 30, Bridgewater, Dec. 2, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Bailey, George R., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 8, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 24,'62.

Bailey, Samuel H., 21, Boston, Dec. 26, '61, missing since May 12, '64.
Baker, Robert, 22, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Oct. 15, '63.
Balch, Francis V., 23, W Roxbury, Aug. 4, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 10, '62.
Barber, Alexander M., 40, Charlestown, July 18, '61, d. o. w. Nov. 29, '61.
Barker, Isaac S., 23, Dartmouth, Sept. 23, '61, k. Dec. 11, '63.
Barnard, Charles F., 22, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 28, '62.
Barnard, Charles F., 29, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 16, '63.
Barnard, Frederick W., 21, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 31, '62.
Barnard, John F., 21, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Barrett, James H., 17, Nantucket, Aug. 11, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 2, '63.
Barrett, William A., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 8, '63.
Barrett, William H., 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Barry, James, 21, Bridgewater, Dec. 31, '61, deserted Mar. 10, '64.
Bartlett, Charles W., 19, Boston, tr. from Co. K, d. f. d. Dec. 8, '63.
Bates, Edwin, 35, Chesterfield, July 18, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 8, '63.
Bean, Ansel, 25, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 14, '63.
Bean, A. C., 35, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, k. June 4, '64.
Benson, Michael, 25, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, deserted Aug. 30, '63.
Berry, Joseph, 33, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, d. o. w. Dec. 28, '62.
Bicknell, Joseph, 31, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Boerns, John, 29, Worcester, Aug. 3, '63, deserted Sept. 24, '63.
Bolminster, Henry, 39, Truro, Aug. 8, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Boyce, Calhoun N., 23, Gloucester, Aug. 7, '63, deserted Aug. 30, '63.
Boyd, John, 35, Boston, Mar. 3, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Brandt, John H., 37, Boston, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 8, '63.
Braydon, Angus, 28, Boston, Sept. 4, '61, died Mar. 3, '63.
Briody, James, 24, Boston, Aug. 11, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Brooks, Frederick, 22, Taunton, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 8, '63.
Brooks, John, 21, Concord, Aug. 4, '63, deserted Sept. 1, '63.
Brooks, Richard, 28, Salem, Nov. 29, '61, k. June 30, '62.
Brown, Thomas, 26, Easthampton, July 18, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Brown, William, 26, Easthampton, July 18, '63, tr. to Navy, Mar. '64.
Buck, William E., 21, Southboro, Dec. 2, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Bucknam, James A., 18, Boston, Feb. 10, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Nov. 15, '63.
Bunker, William R., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 2, '61, tr. to V. R. C., '63.
Burgess, Isaiah A., 35, Natick, Feb. 8, '62, k. June 22, '64.
Burns, Matthew, 26, Stunbridge, June 27, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.
Burrill, Horace P., 24, Boston, Oct. 8, '61, k. July 3, '63.

Carr, John P., 22, Medford, Sept. 11, '61, d. ex. t. Aug. 1, '64.
Carver, Thomas H., 21, Boston, tr. from Co. K, m. July 16, '65.
Cartwright, Edmund, 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. Mar. 3, '63. O. W. D.
Cathcart, James F., 38, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 14, '63.
Chadwick, George W., 19, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, died Jan. 16, '63.
Chase, Benjamin R., 21, Southboro, Aug. 3, '63, m. July 16, '65.
Chase, Daniel B., 42, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. Nov. 1, '64.
Christian, Samuel, 29, Nantucket, Aug. 7, '62, d. Dec. 18, '62.
Clark, George W., 18, S. Reading, Aug. 9, '62, d. Dec. 5, '62.
Clark, William H., 19, Webster, July 5, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Coffin, Albert C., 24, Nantucket, July 26, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 1, '63.
Coffin, George H., 17, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 19, '63.
Coffman, Frederick, 20, Hanson, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Collins, John, 25, New Bedford, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Apr. 1, '65.
Conner, Felix, 21, Roxbury, Apr. 18, '64, missing since June 4, '64.
Conway, Patrick, 38, Nantucket, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Cook, Henry P., 34, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 31, '62.
Coolidge, Michael, 44, Lowell, July 18, '61, m. July 16, '65.
Corbett, Thomas, 23, Swanzy, Aug. 7, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.
Cott, John, 22, Duxbury, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Cottle, Freeman R., 21, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, tr. to Navy, Apr. 21, '64.
Crocker, Charles M., 18, Nantucket, Feb. 29, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Crocker, David L., 23, Fitchburg, July 18, '65, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Crocker, Samuel C., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, died a prisoner of war, June 5, '65.
Crowell, Barzillar, 22, Tisbury, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 27, '65.
Crowley, Cornelius E., 25, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 16, '61.

Daisy, John, 40, Boston, July 18. '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Davenport, Peleg B., 25, Tisbury, Aug. 29, '61, k. Dec. 13, '62.
Davis, Benjamin, 28, Sandwich, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Day, William O., 28, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Depan, Thomas, 32, Medford, Feb. 22, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Depung, Caleb L., 34, Nantucket, July 26, '62, tr. to V R. C. Jan. 15, '64.
Dolan, Thomas, 40, Boston, July 18, '61, deserted Dec. 1, '61.
Dunn, Lewis, 28, Barrington, Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '63,

Ellis, Andrew S., 27, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 24, '63.
Ellis, Charles F., 20, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. o. w. Jan. 17, '63.
Enos, John B., 27, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, tr. to V R. C. Sept. 16, '63.

Farnham, Hanery C., 25, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Fay, Horatio L., 21, Southboro, Dec. 2, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Fisher, Charles H., 18, Nantucket, Feb. 29, '64, d. Apr. 25, '64.
Fisher, Hiram, 42, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 3, '64.
Fitzgerald, David, 20, Roxbury, tr. from Co. K, died Dec. 29, '64.
Fitzgerald, Edward, 34, Lowell, tr. from Co. K, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Foley, John, 21, Somerville, July 13, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.
Folger, Henry, 34, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Furbush, Edward B., 26, Salem, Dec. 14, '61, d. f. d. May 27, '62.

Gammons, Orlando N., 23, Boston, Sept. 13, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '63.
Garrity, Edward, 23, Greenfield, July 12, '64, deserted Aug. 24, '64.
Goodwin, Charles, 21, Boston, July 14, '64, deserted Aug. 5, '64.
Goodwin, Charles F., 23, Roxbury, Dec. 3, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '62.
Grady, Martin, 21, Gloucester, July 15, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Griffin, Thomas, 24, Boston, Dec. 3, '61, tr. to Navy, Feb. 10, '62.

Hartenstien, William, 21, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, missing since May 11, '64.
Heath, Richard, 44, Northfield, Mar. 31, '64, dishonorably d. Apr. 21, '65. O. W. D.
Higgins, Michael, 22, Springfield, July 13, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.
Higgins, Thomas, 24, Boston, Mar. 1, '64, d. o. w. Oct. 6, '64.
Hill, William F., 28, Randolph, Aug. 15, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Holbrook, Charles, 31, Braintree, Dec. 9, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 15, '62.
Holmes, Albert B., 19, Nantucket, July 18, '61, pr. 1st Lieut. July 18, '63.
Horrigan, Jeremiah, 18, Cambridge, Jan. 7, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Howard, George F., 18, Boston, Feb. 18, '64, m. July 16, '65. Absent prisoner.
Hull, Alvin, 18, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Feb. 6, '64.
Hunter, Jared M., 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, k. June 30, '62.
Hyde, Virgin O., 21, Southboro, Dec. 3, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 23, '63.

Isherwood, James, 32, Boston, Aug. 19, '62, deserted Sept. 4, '64.

Jackson, William, 29, Buckland, Jan. 6, '65, m. July 16, '65.
Jaham, Francis H., 37, Boston, July 7, '64, d. June 3, '65.
Johnson, George N., 18, Boston, Mar. 17, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Johnston, Gustavus, 28, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, missing since May, '64.
Jones, Henry, 18, Nantucket, July 19, '62, k. July 3, '63.

Kane, John, 28, Easthampton, tr. from Co. B, tr. to Co. K.
Kearns, James, 40, Boston, Aug. 20, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Keenan, Peter, 24, Wrentham, tr. from Co. K, m. July 16, '65.
Kelly, Albert, 19, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. Apr. 24, '63, O. W. D.
Kelly, Timothy T., 39, Nantucket, July 18, '61, deserted July 31, '63.
Kempton, Martin V., 24, Blackstone, Aug. 15, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Kimball, Francis O., 30, Roxbury, Dec. 3, '61, tr. to V. R. C. July 1, '63.

Laidsch, Theodore, 23, Boston, Apr. 4, '64, missing since May 12, '64.
Leonard, Charles T., 28, Taunton, July 16, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Lepler, Gottlieb, 27, Roxbury, Dec. 7, '61, tr. to V R. C. Oct. 2, '63.
Low, William B., 21, Essex, Dec. 3, '61, d. ex. t. Dec. 3, '64.
Lowell, Samuel, 47, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 26, '63.
Luce, Benjamin N., 21, Tisbury, Oct. 3, '61, d. f. d. May 26, '63.
Lyons, Jeremiah, 21, Charlestown, July 13, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.

McAdams, Daniel, 19, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
McCarthy, Michael, 31, Boston, July 26, '61, deserted Dec. 1, '61.
McCarty, Patrick, 34, Springfield, July 11, '63, m. July 16, '65.
McCrillis, Lewis, 24, Brookfield, July 20, '63, m. July 16, '65.
McEnarry, Peter, 19, Chelmsford, Aug. 16, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
McKenna, Peter, 24, Sandwich, July 26, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
McManey, Joseph, 26, Boston, Feb. 26, '64, m. July 16, '65.
McNamara, Francis, 34, Brookline, Dec. 5, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 22, '62.
McRae, Christopher, 24, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Mannsmann, Joseph, 25, Abington, Apr. 19, '64, missing since May 17, '64.
Marsh, James W., 27, Boston, Feb. 19, '62, deserted June 30, '62.

Mayo, William, 28, Beverly, July 15, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Miller, Charles, 24, Duxbury, Aug. 5, '63, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Miller, Henry, 24, Dorchester, Apr. 9, '64, missing since May, '64.
Morris, Charles A., 44, Nantucket, Apr. 14, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Muldoon, Miles, 22, Boston, Oct. 4, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '62.
Murphy, Edward, 38, Boston, tr. from Co. K, tr. to V R. C. Sept., '64.
Murphy, Franklin B., 32, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, d. f. d. Nov. 6, '63.
Murphy, Owen, 30, Foxboro, Aug. 9, '62, m. Aug., '64.
Murphy, Terrance, 33, Sandwich, July 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 9, '63.
Myrick, William, 25, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 27, '63.

Ness, Augustus, 44, Medford, Mar. 5, '64, tr. to V R. C.
Nicholson, George W., 17, Nantucket, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 3, '63.

O'Connor, Andrew, 38, Dorchester, Aug. 29, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 1, '62.
Orpins, Edward P., 22, Nantucket, July 18, '61, deserted May 1, '64.

Paddock, Thomas E., 21, Nantucket, July 18, '61, tr. to V. R. C. June, '64.
Parker, Albert C., 16, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 6, '63.
Parker, William B., 21, Medford, Mar. 18, '63, d. f. d. Jan. 6, '64.
Parrington, Edwin, 21, Cambridge, Apr. 19, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Pease, Benjamin B., 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, pr. 2d Lieut. Apr. 29, '64.
Perkins, Charles H., 18, Nantucket, Feb. 29, '64, rejected Apr. 26, '64.
Pierce, Charles G., 36, New Bedford, Aug. 31, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 10, '61.
Pratt, George C., 20, Nantucket, July 18, '61, tr. to V R. C., Nov. 15, '63.

Raymond, Charles H., 23, Nantucket, July 19, '62, deserted May 5, '64.
Richardson, Cutler A., 24, Boston, Dec. 1, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 11, '62.
Richardson, John, 21, Roxbury, July 13, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.
Richardson, Ralph, 32, Lowell, Sept. 1, '62, m. July 16, '65.
Rivers, Alonzo M., 18, Nantucket, July 19, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 20, '63.
Rivers, Arthur M., 16, Nantucket, Aug. 13, '62, died a prisoner of war, June 5, '65.
Rogers, John M., 38, Boston, Aug. 16, '62, d. f. d. July 6, '63.
Rush, Abraham C., 23, Boston, Dec. 9, '61, k. May 31, '62.
Russell, Thomas J., 21, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Apr. 27, '64.
Ryan, John, 21, Boston, July 15, '62, deserted July 8, '63.
Ryder, George F., 24, Duxbury, July 26, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 27, '62.

Sandford, George H., 30, Nantucket, July 20, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '63.
Sedon, James, 21, Fall River, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 26, '62.
Skinner, Edward V., 39, Malden, Sept. 16, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 26, '62.
Slow, Sylvester, 39, Hancock, tr. from Co. K, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga., Dec. 29, '64.
Smith, Elisha M., 18, Tisbury, Aug. 29, '61, k. July 3, '63.
Smith, John, 26, Fairhaven, Aug. 8, '63, tr. to Navy, May 17, '64.
Smith, Michael, 25, Dennis, Aug. 1, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 17, '63.
Snow, George E., 22, Nantucket, July 26, '62, k. Dec. 11, '63.
Stackpole, Albert, 18, Nantucket, July 18, '61, d. o. w. Oct. 21, '61.

Standish, Charles H., 24, Windsor, Dec. 3, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Starbuck, George B., 22, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Stewart, Charles, 22, Chicopee, July 11, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Stone, James L., 40, Boston, June 21, '64, m. July 16, '65.
Strick, Julius, 42, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 28, '62.
Sullivan, Patrick, 32, Boston, Jan. 24, '65, m. July 16, '65.
Summerhayes, John W., 25, Nantucket, Sept. 9, '61, pr. Sergt. Maj. Jan. 1, '63.
Swain, Charles A., 23, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Swain, Jacob G., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Swain, William C., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 21, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 21, '63.
Swain, William H., 20, Nantucket, Aug. 19, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Swain, William K., 18, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, died Oct. 17, '62.
Swan, William F., 44, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 12, '64.
Taylor, John H., 19, Worcester, July 8, '64, died Mar. 21, '65.
Tremblay, Cyprion, 18, Belmont, July 13, '64, m. July 16, '65.

Waters, Patrick, 31, Boston, Aug. 14, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Weeks, Stephen, 18, Sandwich, Feb. 10, '62, d. f. d. Apr. 27, '63.
Welcome, James A., 22, Nantucket, Aug. 5, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 16, '63.
Welcome, William H., 19, Nantucket, Aug. 14, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Wentworth, George, 25, Waltham, tr. from Co. K, m. July 16, '65.
Whitcomb, Joseph D., 35, Boston, Nov. 29, '61, deserted Apr. 20, '64.
Whitford, Benjamin H., 33, Nantucket, July 31, '61, d. Sept. 10, '62.
Wiggins, Hugh, 27, Boston, Sept. 7, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 29, '63.
Wilbur, James, 28, Tisbury, Oct. 4, '61, died Nov. 24, '62.
Wilkinson, Joseph, 32, Harwich, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Oct. 21, '64.
Wilson, Alexander, 26, Boston, Aug. 18, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 9, '63.
Winslow, William H., 39, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Winthrop, Alexander, 21, S. Reading, July 28, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 19, '63.
Woodward, Ezekiel L., 24, Sandwich, July 18, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Wool, Edmund, 42, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 26, '63.
Worth, George G., 20, Nantucket, July 18, '61, k. Oct. 21, '61.
Wulff, Eric, 25, Plymouth, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 15, '62.
Wyer, William W., 26, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. Apr. 9, '63.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Sergeant

Gallagher, John W., m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Dawson, Thomas R., hanged for rape by order G. C. M. Apr. 14, '64.

Fuller, Henry G., tr. to Navy, Apr. 21, '64.

Hamilton, William, m. July 16, '65.
Hartman, Alfred, m. July 16, '65.

Hogan, Michael F., deserted July 26, '64.
Hunt, Philip, deserted Nov. 14, '64.

Smith, William, tr. to Navy, May 17, '64.

Walsh, Michael, m. July 16, '65. Absent sick.
Williams, Patrick, m. July 16, '65. Absent wounded.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Privates

McCaffrey, Michael, m. July 16, '65.
McIntosh, Daniel, m. July 16, '65.
Myrick, George W., d. Aug. 5, '64.

COMPANY K

Sergeants

Burke, John T., 32, Springfield, Sept. 4, '61, k. June 20, '64.

Campion, Patrick J., 30, Salem, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 10, '63.
Clark, James O., 22, New York, July 23, '61, d. May 25, '63.
Compass, Theodore, 29, Randolph, Aug. 21, '61, k. June 30, '62.

Day, Orrin, 34, Boston, July 28, '61, tr. to Co. I.

Faunce, Hannibal A., 21, Randolph, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 18, '63.

Heath, John W., 23, Randolph, Aug. 21, '61, died Aug. 23, '63.
Holmes, Alfred L., 26, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, k. June 30, '62.

Parker, Joseph H., 19, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61.

Corporals

Anderson, Thomas, 45, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '62 as a private.

Blankenburg, George, 26, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, k. Dec. 13, '62.

Humphrey, Charles E., 34, Cambridge, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. May 6, '63.

Kehr, George W., 32, Canton, Aug. 23, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.

Morton, William, 24, Philadelphia, July 23, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.

Sturtevant, Edwin D., 21, Canton, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.

Musicians

Dudley, Barzilla, 50, Somerville, Dec. 28, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 25, '63.

Graves, Edward O., 43, Hingham, July 23, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 11, '63.

Wagoner

Dyer, Samuel H., 37, Boston, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 7, '63.

Privates

Agin, Thomas, 21, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Aug. 29, '62.

Bacon, Charles H., 28, Boston, Feb. 20, '64, d. f. d. Jan. 5, '65.
Ballard, Rufus K., 28, Wrentham, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 28, '62.
Barnes, Norman, 30, Orange, July 23, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 1, '62.
Bartlett, Charles W., 19, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Blake, James, 40, Boston, Sept. 5, '62, d. f. d. Sept. 28, '63.
Bowman, Henry, 29, Amherst, Sept. 4, '61, d. o. w. June 21, '64.
Bowman, Sanford, 33, Amherst, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Aug. 15, '62.
Brigham, Charles, 45, Boston, Sept. 1, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Broinhan, Thomas, 42, Boston, Aug. 19, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 2, '63.
Brown, John T., 33, Danvers, Aug. 7, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 8, '63.
Bryant, James W., 21, Dorchester, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.
Buck, Frederick, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, missing since Mar. 6, '64.
Burke, John, 31, Boston, Aug. 8, '63, d. o. w. Aug. 5, '64.
Burke, Thomas, 21, Longmeadow, Aug. 26, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.
Bushey, Lewis, 20, Springfield, July 13, '64, d. July 28, '65. O. W. D.

Call, Thomas, 37, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 12, '63.
Campion, Edward J., 28, Salem, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 4, '63.
Carlisle, James, 31, Boston, Aug. 26, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent sick.
Carney, William, 21, Barnstable, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Oct. 13, '63.
Carver, Philip M., 18, Boston, Aug. 15, '62, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Carver, Thomas, 42, Boston, Sept. 12, '62, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Carver, Thomas H., 21, Brighton, July 23, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Chase, George, 21, Yarmouth, Aug. 5, '63, d. f. d. Dec. 20, '63.
Chase, Theodore, 35, Smithfield, R. I., Aug. 8, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 9, '63.
Clancey, John, 27, Fall River, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 12, '63.
Cole, William, 21, Fall River, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Sept. 15, '63.
Collier, John A., 37, Chelmsford, Aug. 13, '62, d. f. d. Dec. 29, '63.
Conner, William, 25, Hopkinton, July 18, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.
Cronan, Patrick, 22, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, k. July 1, '62.
Cunningham, Thomas, 21, Provincetown, Aug. 5, '63, deserted Nov. 18, '63.
Cutler, Charles H., 18, Boston, Mar. 31, '64, tr. to V R. C. Feb. 3, '65.

Dana, Henry F., 18, Canton, Aug. 6, '62, d. Mar. 6, '63.
Dillon, John, 40, Boston, July 26, '62, d. f. d. Aug. 8, '63.
Docherki, William, 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, k. May 6, '64.
Dolan, John, 21, Boston, July 23, '61, deserted Dec. 15, '61.
Donnelly, John, 28, Boston, Aug. 30, '61, k. Dec. 11, '62.
Donnelly, Michael, 24, Lowell, July 18, '61, missing since May 5, '64.

Fitzgerald, David, 20, Roxbury, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Fitzgerald, Edward, 34, Lowell, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to Co. I.

Flanagan, Thomas, 30, Boston, July 18, '61, d. Mar. 18, '63.
Foley, Martin, 18, Milford, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64.
Fordham, James, 23, Brimfield, Apr. 8, '64, missing since May 5, '64.

Gilbert, Martin J., 24, W. Brookfield, Aug. 30, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 15, '61.
Gilmore, Thomas, 27, Boston, July 28, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 16, '63.
Goodridge, Sidney S., 33, Chelsea, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Sept. 13, '62.
Greenwood, Charles, 43, Westboro, Aug. 30, '61, d. Jan. 26, '65.
Guillow, Ransom, 40, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 20, '61.

Hamilton, Trafton, 19, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 10, '61.
Hannigan, Thomas, 31, d. f. d. Mar. 20, '63.
Hastings, Charles S., 19, Deerfield, Sept. 4, '61, k. Dec. 13, '62.
Hastings, George A., 22, Deerfield, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Hayes, Patrick J., 26, Holliston, Aug. 21, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 6, '63.
Haynnes, Samuel, 43, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 15, '62.
Hearney, Charles, 18, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, k. July 3, '63.
Hill, William F., 21, Canton, Aug. 6, '62, shot for desertion, Aug. 8, '63.
Hines, John, 19, Boston, July 18, '61, m. Aug. 1, '64. Absent wounded.
Hogan, Michael F., 28, Boston, July 25, '63, deserted July 26, '64.

Jones, Benjamin, 21, Hinsdale, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to V R. C. Jan. 30, '64.

Kane, James, 23, Amherst, Sept. 4, '61, deserted Oct. 15, '62.
Kane, John, 28, Easthampton, tr. from Co. I. No further record.
Keenan, James, 24, Wrentham, Aug. 30, '62, deserted Dec. 13, '62.
Keenan, Peter, 26, Lowell, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Kenny, John, 38, Cambridge, Aug. 20, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 11, '63.
Kenny, Timothy, 23, Boston, Feb. 18, '62, d. o. w. Nov. 17, '62.

Leonard, Chester, 19, Northampton, Aug. 26, '61, d. July 25, '64.
Loretz, Herman, 27, Boston, Apr. 1, '64, missing since May, '64.

McCue, John, 35, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 7, '62.
McQuad, John, 18, Lowell, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 14, '62.
Messerschmidt, Frederick, 22, Boston, Apr. 14, '64, missing since May 5, '64.
Miles, Marcus, 31, Amherst, Sept. 4, '61, died June 3, '64.
Moire, William G., 20, Roxbury, July 18, '61, d. Aug. 23, '61.
Morris, Joseph, 25, Abington, July 23, '61, d. f. d. Apr. 15, '62.
Morrisey, Patrick, 38, Boston, Sept. 19, '62, d. f. d. Jan. 18, '64.
Multimore, James, 26, Boston, Oct. 20, '62, k. July 8, '63.
Murphy, Edward, 38, Boston, July 18, '61, tr. to Co. I.

Norton, James, 23, Brimfield, Apr. 8, '64, missing since May, '64.

O'Hara, Patrick, 41, Boston, Aug. 26, '61, tr. to Co. D.
Orcutt, George H., 22, Adams, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 1, '61.

Pentz, David, 33, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 20, '62.

Powers, James, 28, Springfield, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 5, '62.
Pray, Xavier, 49, Andover, Aug. 27, '61, d. f. d. Oct. 31, '62.

Randall, Lyman C., 40, Westfield, Aug. 26, '61, d. f. d. Dec. 31, '62.
Reed, James, 18, Boston, Feb. 19, '64, d. f. d. Apr. 24, '64.
Rhodes, Frank, 27, Boston, July 23, '61.
Riley, John, 38, Chelsea, Aug. 26, '61, k. Sept. 17, '62.
Rogers, James, 38, Boston, Aug. 27, '61, died Nov. 29, '62.

Sampson, Benjamin F., 23, W. Brookfield, Aug. 30, '61, tr. to 4th U. S. Art. Oct. 20, '62.
Sampson, Isaac M., 21, W. Brookfield, Aug. 30, '61, d. o. w. Jan. 1, '63.
Sawtell, George S., 21, Boston, Aug. 8, '62, k. July 3, '63.
Schwarneberger, John, 46, Adams, Sept. 4, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 4, '63.
Slow, Sylvester, 39, Hancock, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Smith, David A., 18, Greenfield, Sept. 4, '61, tr. to Co. I as a corporal.
Smith, James, 20, Northampton, Sept. 4, '61, k. June 9, '64.
Smith, John, 22, Lawrence, Aug. 26, '61, deserted Feb. 10, '62.
Snell, Joseph, 34, Wareham, tr. from Co. A, k. Oct. 21, '61.

Thorpe, Edward, 38, Boston, July 18, '61, d. f. d. Mar. 12, '62.
Tucker, Samuel, 35, Boston, Dec. 19, '61, d. f. d. Feb. 18, '63.

Wall, Thomas, 21, Aug. 26, '61, tr. to V. R. C. Aug. '64.
Walker, Donald, 24, Boston, Aug. 24, '61, died Jan. 1, '63.
Warren, Francis W., 28, Northampton, July 18, '61, deserted July 26, '61.
Warren, William H., 22, Salem, Aug. 23, '61, d. f. d. Jan. 10, '63.
Wentworth, George E., 25, Milton, Aug. 21, '61, tr. to Co. I.
Wettberg, Edward, 23, Boston, tr. from Co. C, d. f. d. Feb. 10, '65.
White, Lishur, 20, Dorchester, July 18, '61, d. f. d. July 26, '64.
White, Wallace, 31, Aug. 24, '61, d. f. d. Nov. 23, '62.
Whitman, Thomas, 31, Stow, Aug. 30, '61, died June 19, '62.
Whittemore, James, 25, Boston, deserted July 8, '63.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE NINETEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JANUARY 14, 1864

Private

Williams, John T., d. f. d. Apr. 21, '64.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS ON JULY 27, 1864

Sergeant

McFarland, Charles, d. ex. t. Feb. 18, '65.

Privates

Geoghegan, George.

Richardson, Ira M., d. June 9, '65.
Roach, James, d. f. d. June 15, '65.
Rock, Michael, d. ex. t. Jan. 27, '65.
Rowe, Melville B., d. ex. t. Mar. 7, '65.

Shepard, James E., d. Apr. 65.
Steadson, Walter, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Aug. 22, '64.
Stone, Harrison W., k. Feb. 5, '65.

Triscot, William M., died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Aug. 2, '64.

Waif, Thomas, died a prisoner at Andersonville, Ga. Aug. 2, '64.
Wellington, George F., d. ex. t. Jan. 20, '65.
Wetherbee, Mason R., d. June 13, '65.

Unassigned Recruits of whom there is no further Record at the Massachusetts Adjutant General's Office

Abbo, Alexander, 26, Barre, Apr. 6, '64.
Abbott, Andrew J., 24, Boston, deserted Oct. 11, '62.
Abbott, Charles W., 22, Boston, Sept. 16, '62.
Adams, Charles F., 21, Canton, Aug. 9, '62, died Oct. 2, '62.
Adams, Henry, 21, Springfield, July 8, '64.
Adams, Joseph F., 28, Newburyport, died at Raleigh, N. C.
Adams, Samuel, 39, Lexington, Aug. 30, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 6, '63.
Aiken, Thomas, 26, Boston, Sept. 8, '62.
Akerman, Henry, 25, Boston, Apr. 7, '64.
Albro, Henry, C. 23, Boston.
Andrews, Charles, 36, Boston, Mar. 3, '63.
Anderson, John, 21, Roxbury, Apr. 8, '64.

Baker, William, 19, Blackstone, Mar. 5, '64.
Baldwin, Charles, 29, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Barrett, Michael, 21, W Roxbury, Aug. 5, '63, deserted.
Barry, William, 27, Boston, Aug. 13, '62.
Barry, William H., 24, Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Bates, Charles A., 22, Fairhaven, Dec. 12, '62.
Bayan, Havef, 31, Boston.
Beddings, Henry, 40, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Bernard, Benjamin, 24, Boston, Aug. 26, '62.
Bernting, Thomas, 25, Sept. 27, '62.
Berry, Joseph, 33, Boston, Aug. 7, '62, died Mar. 18, '64.
Bird, William H., 32 Boston, Aug. 6, '62.
Bomertz, William, 39, Boston, Apr. 4, '64.
Boobly, Louis, 21, Boston, June 10, '64.
Bornstein, Myer, 21, Holliston, Aug. 23, '62.
Bowman, James W., 22, Orleans, Mar. 5, '64.

Bradley, Michael, 21, Ashland, Mar. 4, '62, forwarded to regiment, Mar. 25, '62. No further record.
Brady, Charles, 21, Boston, Mar. 1, '64.
Brady, Thomas, 23, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Brady, Thomas, 24, Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Brady, William, 23, Ashfield, July 18, '63.
Bremmer, Frederick, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Bren, Peter, 22, Boston, Apr. 22, '64.
Brennan, John, 24, Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Breslen, William, 22, New Bedford, Aug. 5, '63.
Bresnar, Morris, 27, Springfield, July 12, '64.
Brown, George, 38, Boston, Oct. 4, '62.
Brown, James, 27, Charlestown.
Brown, James, 26, Boston, Sept. 15, '62.
Buck, Charles, 20, N. Bridgewater, Aug. 7, '63.
Buckley, James, 25, W. Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Burns, John, 23, Boston, Sept. 16, '62.
Busser, Carl, 24, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Butler, Thomas, 32, Boston, Aug. 30, '62.
Butterfield, 21, Worcester, Jan. 20, '62.

Cahill, Thomas, 26, Boston.
Calahay, John, 21, Boston, Oct. 9, '62.
Campbell, John, Aug. 18, '62.
Carcher, Carl, 22, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Carver, Charles H., 22, Boston, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Feb. 27, '63.
Casler, Theodore, 24, Sterling, Apr. 9, '64.
Cassidy, Peter, 24, Boston, Sept. 11, '62.
Clare, Carl, 24, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Clark, Edward A., 22, Fitchburg, July 18, '63.
Clark, George W., 18, S. Reading, Aug. 9, '62, d.
Clepper, Adam, 19, Boston, Apr. 21, '64.
Cohen, Abraham, 38.
Cohen, Joseph, 24, Framingham, Dec. 17, '62.
Colburn, Franklin C., 28, Grafton, Aug. 23, '63, deserted May 12, '64.
Collins, James, 18, Boston.
Connolly, Felix, 30, Boston, Aug. 25, '62.
Connors, Eugene, 35, Boston, July 15, '62.
Conway, James, 39, Boston, Aug. 13, '62.
Conway, Timothy, 34, Boston.
Cooley, Thomas, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Corcoran, Michael, 29, Boston, Oct. 29, '62.
Cords, Henry, 19.
Cox, Matthew, 21, Boston, Aug. 5, '63, deserted.
Crawford, Charles B., 21, Bolton, July 18, '63.
Crossman, Elbridge, 41, Boston, Aug. 28, '62, tr. to V. R. C.
Cunningham, James, 21, Boston.
Cunningham, John, 23, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Curran, Peter, 25, Boston.

Dalpe, Jean B., 30, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64.
Darling, James, 23, Charlestown, Sept. 9, '62.
Davis, Benjamin C., 26, Bridgewater, Dec. 2, '62.
Davis, Charles, 26, Boston.
Deernann, August, 19, Boston, Aug. 9, '64.
Delaney, John H., 23, Boston, Sept. 13, '62, sent to regiment, Sept. 16, '62. No further record.
Doherty, Patrick, 31, Boston, Sept. 9, '62.
Doland, Edward, 22, Boston, Oct. 24, '62.
Doody, Thomas, 20, W. Springfield, June 30, '64, d. o. w. Dec. 1, '64.
Doyle, Edward, 23, Peru, Mar. 31, '64.
Doyle, William, 24, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Drew, John, 27, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Duffy, William, 22, Boston, Oct. 21, '62.
Dunn, James, 21, Boston, Oct. 8, '62.
Dwyer, Dederick, 21, Boston, Sept. 3, '62.

Edson, William, 18, Boston, Sept. 15, '62.
Edwards, William, 21, Newbury, Dec. 6, '62.
Epp, Henry, 26, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Eulew, Eugene, 26, Boston, Mar. 5, '63.
Ever, Robert, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.

Faerl, John, 26, Grafton, Apr. 30, '64.
Feeny, James, 32, Boston, Aug. 26, '62.
Fenton, John, 43, Boston, Aug. 14, '62.
Fernald, John, 25, Boston, Oct. 6, '62.
Fittier, Francis, 32, Boston, Dec. 15, '63.
Fitzgerald, Joseph, 19, Worcester, July 8, '64.
Flaherty, John, 21, Boston, Aug. 16, '62.
Floyd, Robert, 21, Watertown, Mar. 10, '64.
Fogerty, Patrick, 38, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Foot, Thomas C., 30, Boston, Aug. 30, '62.
Francis, John, 44, Boston, Sept. 11, '62.
Freeman, Charles, 21, Charlestown, Sept. 9, '62.
Fox, Charles, 30, Boston, Sept. 15, '62.
Fox, Warren, 21, Boston, Sept. 26, '62.

Gagem, John, 22, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Gager, Heinrich, 23, Boston, Mar. 4, '64.
Geer, John, 22, Blackstone, Aug. 25, '62.
Geist, Franz, 28, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Gibbs, James, 21, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Gloster, Thomas, 23, Boston, Aug. 8, '63.
Gordon, George, 19, Boston, Oct. 20, '62.
Gordon, Samuel H., 23, Lynn.
Green, Charles, 21, Boston, Oct. 8, '62.
Green, James, 23, Falmouth, Dec. 18, '62.
Gregas, Gustave, 19, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.

Griley, John, 28, Boston, July 16, '64.
Grotte, Heinrich, 32, Princeton, Apr. 30, '64.

Haessner, William, 38, Boston, Apr. 4, '64.
Hall, Charles D., 25, Orleans, Mar. 5, '64.
Hall, Henry, 18, Cambridge, July 23, '62.
Halpin, James, 21, Randolph, Feb. 17, '62.
Hammond, Horace P., 22, Dorchester, Mar. 31, '64.
Hannigan, Charles, 21, Holliston, Dec. 22, '62.
Harmon, James, 22, W. Newbury, Dec. 2, '62.
Harris, James, 32, Boston, Dec. 25, '62.
Harris, Simon, 26, Boston, Oct. 10, '62.
Hart, Charles E., 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 19, '62.
Hart, John, 24, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Harvey, George, 27, Boston, Sept. 27, '62.
Harvey, Henry, 27, Boston, Oct. 18, '62.
Hayes, James, 22, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Healy, Patrick, 18, Webster, Aug. 5, '61.
Heatherington, Albert, 22, Boston, Aug. 2, '62.
Hedges, Frank, 28, Boston, Sept. 30, '62.
Hehl, John, 21, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Henrick, Bennet, 42, Roxbury, June 21, '64.
Henry, Albert, 38, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Henry, William C., 24, Boston, Sept. 9, '62.
Hinckley, George H., 33, Melrose, Dec. 20, '62.
Holder, James, 23, Chelsea, Apr. 4, '64.
Holt, John, 26, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Horan, John T., 18, Boston, July 19, '62.
Horgan, Jere, 21, Boston.
Howland, Samuel, 24, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Hunt, William, 22, Boston.
Hurley, David, 33, Boston, Sept. 2, '62.

Jackson, William, 21, Rowley.
Jenkins, Walter, 22, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Johnson, James, 25, Boston, Oct. 20, '62.
Johnson, John, 25, Boston, Sept. 18, '62.

Karstein, William, 29, Holliston, Apr. 6, '64.
Keefer, William F., 33, Mar. 30, '64.
Kelly, Charles, 30, Boston, Oct. 3, '62.
Kelly, Charles F., 39, Boston, Sept. 8, '62.
Kelly, William, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Kendrick, George C., 21, Chelsea, Apr. 12, '64. No record at War Dept.
Kennedy, James, 21, Ashland.
Kennedy, John, 24, Randolph, Feb. 7, '62, d. f. d. Mar. 17, '63.
Kenny, David, 21, Sandwich, Aug. 8, '63.
Kindling, James, 24, Boston, Aug. 28, '62.
King, Charles, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.

King, Charles, 26, Boston.
Klanz, Ernest, 36, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Knott, William, 42, Boston, Sept. 12, '62.
Kolb, John, 22, Waltham, Mar. 7, '63.
Kook, Wenden, 32, Gloucester, July 12, '64.
Kough, Owen, 20, Brookfield, Apr. 4, '64.

Laekins, Philip, 24, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Lahey, John, 31, Boston, Aug. 5, '63.
Lang, John, 31, Boston, July 15, '64.
Lawton, Joseph R., 27, Barre, Apr. 6, '64.
Leihr, Frederick, 30, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Logan, Robert M., 40, Boston, Feb. 6, '63.
Long, George, 21, Boston.
Louis, Thomas F., 27, Boston, m. July 15, '65. Absent sick.
Lyford, John, 21, Springfield, m. July 15, '65.
Lyman, John, 22, Boston.
Lynch, John, 18, Foxboro.
Lynch, Patrick, 43, Boston, Aug. 23, '62.
Lynch, Thomas, 21, Boston, Oct. 7, '62.
Lyons, Edward J., 25, Framingham, Dec. 16, '62.

McCarthy, John, 21, Boston, Mar. 6, '62.
McCarty, James, 23, Holliston, Aug. 23, '62.
McCarty, Thomas, 18, Boston.
McCarty, Thomas, 28, Sandwich, Aug. 8, '63.
McCarty, Timothy, 24, Chelsea, Sept. 12, '62.
McCleary, John, 44, Boston, Jan. 17, '62.
McCormick, Michael B., 34, Boston, Aug. 14, '62.
McCoy, Thomas, 22, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
McDormitt, George, 22, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
McGlynn, John, 21, Boston, Oct. 24, '62.
McGowan, John, 22, Rowley, Dec. 22, '62.
McGowan, Timothy, 20, Raynham, Aug. 7, '63.
McGuire, John, 22, Quincy, Aug. 7, '63.
McKenney, Dennis, 21, Lawrence.
McKenny, George, 21, Boston, Aug. 9, '62.
McKinley, Alexander, 19, Boston, Mar. 29, '62.
McKnight, Edward, 21, Boston, Aug. 4, '62.
McLean, Eugene, 21, Boston, Aug. 30, '62.
McSorley, John, 27, Boston, Oct. 25, '62.
Maffett, James, 24, Framingham, Dec. 17, '62.
Maguire, Edward, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Manning, John, 28, Dorchester, Aug. 7, '63.
Manning, Michael, 22, Concord, Aug. 7, '63.
Marsh, James, 21, Framingham, Dec. 16, '62.
Marsh, Thomas, 22, Boston, Oct. 21, '62.
Marshall, Joseph, 27, Boston, May 7, '64, missing since May 18, '64.
Martin, John, 22, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.

Martin, Simon, 23, Dorchester, Apr. 4, '64.
Martin, William, 25, Framingham, Dec. 16, '62.
May, Henry, 22, Concord, Aug. 4, '63.
Mehle, Theodore, 29, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Meutges, Robert, 27, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Merrill, Edwin, 19, Boston, Sept. 29, '62.
Merton, Paul, 21, Holliston, Dec. 20, '62.
Miller, Albert, 23, Roxbury, Apr. 8, '64.
Minamon, N. F., 32, Wareham.
Mitchell, Richard, 33, Charlestown, Aug. 30, '62.
Molter, Thomas, 26, Bedford, Apr. 8, '64.
Moore, James, 23, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Moran, Thomas, 24, Boston, Oct. 21, '62.
Moran, Thomas, 22, Malden, May 26, '64.
Morgan, John, 30, Newbury, Dec. 4, '62.
Morris, Daniel, 21, Aug. 18, '62.
Morris, John, 22, Boston, Feb. 29, '64.
Morris, John, 25, Boston, Aug. 6, '62.
Morrison, James H., 32, Boston, Aug. 1, '62.
Morse, Frank D., 18, Worcester, Nov. 26, '61, d. Nov. 4, '64.
Moser, Nicholas, 24, Malden, Feb. 23, '64.
Mullane, Jeremiah, 30, Boston, Sept. 3, '62.
Munroe, Edward, 27, Boston, Oct. 9, '62.
Munson, James, 29, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Murphy, James, 20, Boston, July 18, '63.
Murphy, Philip, 24, Charlestown, Aug. 30, '62.
Murtain, Marcus, 21, Boston, Aug. 9, '62.

Norton, Edward, 22, Boston, Sept. 2, '62.
Norton, John, 39, Boston, Sept. 2, '62.
Nosdall, Jacob, 21, Boston, Apr. 21, '64.
Nugent, Thomas, 32, Boston, July 18, '63, deserted.
Nureihn, Carl, 20, Boston, Apr. 4, '64.

O'Brien, Daniel, 18, Boston, Aug. 13, '62.
O'Brien, Frank, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
O'Brien, James, 18, Boston, Sept. 10, '62.
O'Brien, James, 27, Boston, Oct. 18, '62.
O'Neil, Henry, 27, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Owens, Peter, 30, Aug. 15, '62.

Paine, Charles, 23, Boston, Aug. 29, '62.
Palm, John, 34, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Palmer, David, 22, Mattapoiset, Dec. 18, '62.
Paul, William, 26, Carver, Aug. 5, '63, drowned in Boston Harbor while attempting to desert.
Peck, Barnard, 19, Blackstone, Aug. 25, '62.
Peck, James, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Pendergast, John, 37, Boston, Oct. 21, '62.

Peterson, Patrick H., 28, Boston, Aug. 21, '62.
Phillips, William, 25, Boston, Aug. 26, '62.
Potter, Joseph, 19, Sterling, Apr. 8, '64.
Power, Michael, 24, Boston, Aug. 7, '63.
Pratt, William L., 34, d. f. d. Apr. 26, '62.
Proctor, Joseph H., 19, Shrewsbury, Aug. 11, '62.
Putnam, Amos D., 26, Boston, Aug. 16, '62.

Quigley, Bernard, 38, Boston, Aug. 19, '62.

Radike, Andrew, 24, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Ransom, George, 20, Dorchester, Apr. 6, '64.
Reynolds, Michael, 18, Springfield, July 8, '64.
Rhodes, Gardner T., 31, Boston, Aug. 25, '62.
Rice, Daniel, 21, Boston, Aug. 25, '62.
Richards, Thomas J., 38, Boston, Sept. 1, '62.
Riehl, John, 30, Boston, Apr. 13, '64, deserted May 27, '64.
Ries, August, 19, Boston, Apr. 4, '64.
Riley, James, 21, Boston, Sept. 17, '62.
Riley, John, 19, Lowell, Aug. 18, '62.
Riley, John, 22, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Riley, John, Jr., 18, Boston, Sept. 1, '62.
Rivers, Franklin, 28, Boston, Apr. 23, '64.
Robbins, Barney, 24, Newbury, Dec. 6, '62.
Roberts, Albert F., 22, Agawam, July 11, '64, deserted Aug. 25, '64.
Robichaud, Arthur, 22, Dorchester, Apr. 1, '64.
Robinson, George, 29, Chelsea, Apr. 18, '64.
Rogers, Charles, 27, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Rogers, James, 21, Boston, Sept. 8, '62.
Rogers, Patrick, 23, Rowley, Dec. 22, '62.
Rooney, John, 32, Boston, Aug. 4, '62.
Ross, George, 20, Orleans, Aug. 5, '63.
Ruff, Andrew, 34, Holliston, Dec. 20, '62.
Ruihart, John, 37, Boston, Aug. 8, '63.
Rynard, Richard, 28, Boston, Sept. 10, '62.

Saklen, Yon, 29, Boston, Oct. 6, '62, died Dec. 28, '62.
Schmidt, Lewis, 27, Fairhaven, Dec. 13, '62.
Schmitz, John H. F., 30, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Scott, Samuel, 25, Chelsea, Mar. 18, '64.
Semmes, Stephen, 27, Boston, Mar. 25, '64.
Service, John, 44, Boston, Aug. 13, '62, d. as diseased, Sept. 11, '62, as an un assigned recruit.
Shannon, Richard, 24, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Shaw, George H., 22, Newbury, Dec. 9, '62.
Shay, Thomas, 21, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Simpson, Adam, 31, Newbury.
Slattery, James, 19, Boston, Oct. 24, '62.
Slocy, David, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.

Slone, Samuel, 20, Roxbury, Apr. 8, '64.
Smith, Abraham, 25, Boston, Oct. 6, '62.
Smith, Beman, 23, Charlestown.
Smith, Calvin W., 26, Haverhill, Aug. 8, '62.
Smith, Charles, 27, Boston, Sept. 27, '62.
Smith, Charles, 30, Abington, Aug. 3, '63.
Smith, George, 21, Concord, July 29, '63.
Smith, John, 22, Boston, Aug. 8, '63.
Smith, John, 22, Boston, Oct. 13, '62.
Smith, John, 21, Boston, Oct. 24, '62.
Smith, Lawrence, 19, Boston, Aug. 5, '63.
Smith, Peter, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62, d. f. d. July 28, '65.
Snow, Henry A., 32, Framingham, Dec. 16, '62.
Southwick, John A., 34, Boston, Aug. 25, '62.
Spellacy, John, 31, Boston, Aug. 16, '62.
Stamp, John, 21, Boston, Apr. 1, '64.
Stanton, James, 25, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Stevens, Alexander, 22, Boston.
Stevens, John, 22, Boston.
Stickney, Roscoe N., 19, Boston.
Sullivan, David, 22, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.
Sullivan, John, 23, Charlestown, Aug. 30, '62.
Sweeney, James, 28, Boston, July 28, '62, k. May 5, '63.
Sweeney, Simon, 21, Boston, Aug. 18, '62.
Swift, Shadrach F., 19, Sandwich, July 15, '62.

Taylor, Henry, 21, Harwich, Aug. 8, '63.
Thertett, Timothy, 44, Boston, Aug. 8, '62.
Thomas, Henry, 22, Dorchester, Mar. 14, '64.
Thomas, William W., 21, Gloucester, Aug. 7, '63.
Thompson, Charles, 21, Fairhaven, Dec. 13, '62.
Thompson, George, 24, Mattapoisett, Dec. 13, '62.
Thompson, Thomas, 29, Oxford, July 12, '61, d. f. d. Aug. 6, '64.
Thorn, Henry, 26, Buckland, July 18, '63.
Thorn, John, 21, Boston, Aug. 19, '62, tr. to V. R. C. Sept. 18, '63.
Tierney, Matthew, 21, Boston, Jan. 28, '63.
Torrance, Samuel, 21, Boston, Feb. 26, '64.
Tracy, Patrick, 21, Boston, Oct. 22, '62.

Van Thilly, John B. A., 25, Holliston, Dec. 17, '61.
Volf, Frederick, 21, Upton, Aug. 3, '63.
Vought, Joseph, 23, Boston, Dec. 17, '61.

Waldeck, John, 26, Fairhaven, Dec. 13, '62.
Wallace, James A., 21, Boston, Oct. 8, '62.
Wallace, Thomas, 26, Boston, Dec. 17, '62.
Ward, Robert, 21, Boston, Sept. 27, '62.
Warren, John, 27, Fairhaven, Dec. 10, '62.
Waterman, Nelson, 19, Nantucket, Aug. 12, '62, d. f. d. Oct. 24, '62.

Webb, James, 35, Boston.
Weiler, Christen, 36, Malden, May 18, '64.
Welsh, Michael H., 23, Boston, Mar. 30, '64.
West, William, 21, Mattapoisett, Dec. 18, '62.
Weston, Edward, 22, Boston, Sept. 26, '62.
Wheelock, Mitchell, 37, Boston, Aug. 5, '62.
White, Alfred, 30, Rowley.
Wier, Dennis, 33, Boston, Sept. 10, '62.
Wilddy, Henry, 21, Ashfield, July 18, '63.
Williard, Joseph C., 25, Newbury.
Williams, Charles H., 24, Boston, Mar. 30, '64.
Williams, George, 26, Peru, Mar. 30, '64.
Williams, Theodore, 19, Boston, Aug. 9, '62.
Williams, Thomas, 27, Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Willis, Henry H., 33, Boston, Sept. 23, '62.
Wilson, Charles B., 27, Boston, Oct. 3, '62.
Wilson, John, 28, Boston, Oct. 9, '62.
Winslow, Henry A., 26, Bridgewater, Dec. 2, '62.
Woodbury, George, 24, Boston, Aug. 9, '62.
Wright, Michael, Charlestown.
Wright, William B., 26, Boston, Oct. 23, '62.

Yost, John, 20, Boston, Apr. 13, '64.
Young, Joseph, 30, Newbury, Dec. 5, '62.
Yunghanty, John, 28, Boston, Apr. 4, '64.

Zeis, Jonas, 26, Sterling, Apr. 9, '64.

Transferred from the Nineteenth Massachusetts without being assigned to any Company, on January 14, 1864

Sergeant

Curtis, C. A., m. July 16, '65.

Privates

Boye, James; Burnham, George; Farren, John; Halligan, Michael, deserted June 30, '64; Harrison, James M.; Lopez, Frank; Lynch, Charles; Mohr, Charles A., deserted May 4, '64; Mortimer, Charles; White, William.

Transferred from the Fifteenth Massachusetts without being assigned to any Company on July 27, 1864

Sergeant

Bryson, Alexander.

Privates

Barclay, Thomas; Betterley, Edward, d. Aug. 5, '64; Booth, Edwin, d. f. d. Dec. 31, '64; Brenner, Joseph; Cobleigh, Franklin E.; Ellis, Elias B., d. f. d. Aug. 30, '65; Flaherty, Richard; Hart, John, no further record; Healy, Patrick;

Hovey, Franklin; Jaquier, Lewis, no further record; Johnson, James N.; McCarty, Thomas; McIntire, Herbert D.; Maynard, Winthrop, tr. to R. I. Battery; Mills, Jeremiah; Morse, Frank D.; Shumway, Charles N., d. f. d. June 28, '65; Thompson, Thomas, 2d, discharged for wounds Aug. 6, '64; Whitney, Frederick, d. Aug. 6, '64; Wood, Thomas.

TRANSFERRED FROM THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS JUNE 21, 1865

Sergeants

Bartlett, Joseph F.; Cutting, Orville E.; Murphy, Michael; Read, Stephen W.; Rouse, Ashbel W.; Sherman, Thomas B.; Vincent, Micajah H.; Wood, Otis B.

Corporals

Austin, Clancy L.; Black, Lewis T.; Bouney, Henry B.; Calhoun, William C.; Donahoe, William; Drake, Clement F.; Dunican, Henry A.; Johnson, Eben M.; Jones, John; O'Brien, Patrick H.; Sandford, Merritt S.; Walker, Francis; Welch, James.

Musicians

Dolan, Thomas; Sager, George; Sheehan, Robert.

Wagoners

Murphy, John; Warner, George.

Privates

Adams, Charles E.; Allen, Sylvester W.; Ashman, John; Ball, John D.; Ball, Nelson O.; Barnum, Edgar; Barry, George H.; Barry, James; Barton, Henry B.; Bigelow, Charles H.; Billings, Stephen H.; Blossom, James W.; Boocock, William; Brazill, Thomas; Brew, Michael; Briggs, George G.; Briggs, Joel; Britt, Patrick; Brokaw, Abram; Brown, Robert; Bryant, Walter B.; Burke, Richard; Burrows, Isaac H.; Carl, Thomas; Carleton, George W., Jr.; Caswell, Hiram K.; Chase, Joseph A.; Chase, Reuben; Church, David; Church, William B., Jr.; Clark, Holly C.; Cochrane, Charles; Cochrane, Hugh D.; Cole, Cyrus; Cole, George N.; Cole, John; Colson, Edward W.; Conklin, Ebenezer; Cook, Albert H.; Cook, Dwight; Crossley, George E.; Cummings, Lee; Cunningham, John; Cunningham, Joseph; Day, John T.; Deady, Edward; Dingman, Martin V B.; Dodge, Philip M.; Dresser, William O.; Duggan, Edmund; Edwards, Charles S.; Eldridge, Jeremiah C.; Evans, Charles W.; Evans, George; Flaherty, John; Fontain, Simon; Frazier, William; Fuller, Benjamin F.; Gaffney, John; Galligan, Peter; Healey, Michael F.; Hecox, James; Hemenway, John; Hickey, Charles; Hillman, Jerome E.; Houghtling, Christopher D.; Hibbard, George F.; Huot, Peter; Inglis, Thomas; Jenkins, Rosser; Johnson, John; Johnson, William; Jones, Ira L.; Kelly, John; Kelly, Patrick; Kennedy, John; Kennedy, Martin; Kilroy, James; King, Otto; Kitridge, Henry G. W.; Knight, John L.; Laro, Edward; Lashaway, John; Lavigne, John; Leon, Alexander; Lombard, Napoleon; Lord, James F.; McArthur, James; McCormick, James; McDonald, James; McGlenn, Thomas; McGrath, John; McGregiry, Albert B.; Maginley, Thomas; Markham, Lafayette; Meeney, Patrick; Messenger, Adelbert W.; Meyer, Carl; Miner, Charles F.; Moffitt, William; Morin, Hubert; Morrisey, John; Morse, Richard D.; Mullen, Patrick; O'Brien, John; O'Connell, Patrick;

O'Neil, Michael; Packard, Charles; Paddock, Ichabod S.; Parker, Joseph A.; Peck, Charles H.; Perkins, Henry E.; Perry, James W.; Pettit, Robert C.; Phillips, Howard W.; Plass, Michael; Pooley, John; Potter, Edward T.; Pucell, William; Randall, Ethan A.; Regan, David; Remmington, Benjamin F.; Rice, Sylvanus N.; Riley, Edwain; Riley, William; Ring, Joseph; Rogers, Hiram; Rowe, Thomas F.; Rowell, Daniel M.; Sandford, Joseph E.; Sargent, Theodore; Scott, James L.; Shaftoe, William; Shannon, Thomas; Shaw, Alvin D.; Sheehan, John; Sheldon, James W.; Smiddy, Morris; Smith, Henry; Smith, Peter; Smith, Warren M.; Smyth, Robert; Spellman, Charles E.; Squires, John E.; Stalker, Peter; Staples, Charles E.; Staples, Edward E.; Sullivan, Bartholomew; Taylor, Edward H.; Thompson, George W.; Tootles, Edward; Tufts, Anthony F.; Turner, Charles R.; Ufford, Charles D.; Vanbolkenberg, Charles; Wait, Marshall M.; Walker, William E.; Warren, James P.; Webster, Charles; Wemys, David; Wetherbee, James A.; Wetherell, Albert; Whitney, John; Wiggan, Henry A.; Wilbur, Lloyd; Willard, Rufus W.; Williams, Austin A.; Worrillow, William; Wood, Edwin E.; Wolf, Henry; Wright, Allen; Wrisley, William M.

The Riverside Press
PRINTED BY H. O. HOUGHTON & CO.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
U. S. A.